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19 July 1978

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1565

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ROHLICEK DISCUSSES CEMA INTEGRATION GAINS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 May 78 p 3

[Article by Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR deputy premier, permanent CSSR representative in CEMA: "Joint Effort Achieves Biggest Effect"]

[Text] The development of mutual cooperation among the fraternal countries of the socialist economic community, implemented on the basis of principles of Marxism-Leninism and in firm political and ideological unity, is one of the important factors in intensification of the integration of the economic process.

An outstanding feature of this process is the agreement of CEMA member countries on the application in the production sphere of all laws governing human activity for building a developed socialist society. Due to integration, more and more principal problems of economic development of individual CEMA member countries as well as of the community as a whole are solved with joint effort and mutual cooperation thus attains a substantially higher qualitative level.

The planned and dynamic development of the CSSR national economy is inseparably connected with and depends upon the degree of our economy's participation in the socialist economic integration. In evaluating the significance of Czechoslovakia's economic cooperation with other CEMA countries for the development of our economy, the 15th CPCZ Congress stated: "The most reliable means for the fulfillment of this task is the establishment of still closer ties between our economy and the economies of other CEMA member countries, our more intensive participation in the process of socialist economic integration. We anticipate a considerable increase in the scope of this participation during the next five-year plan."

This task is being successfully fulfilled as confirmed by the results of our national economy, the attained degree of development of our economy and the systematic increase in the living standard of our people. The same conclusion was also reached by the representatives of individual CEMA member countries at the last 85th session of CEMA Executive Committee

which concluded its work in Moscow recently. The following table illustrates this development by the more detailed data for 1977:

	Bulgaria	Hungary	GDR	Mongolia	Poland	Romania	USSR	CSSR	CEMA*
National									
Income	106.3	107.8	105.2	102.0	105.6	108.6	104.5	104.5	105.0
Industrial									
Production	107.0	106.8	105.0	103.9	108.0	112.5	105.7	105.5	106.3
Agricultural									
Production**	107.0	108.0	101.0	--	104.0	122.0	107.0	105.0	107.0

*Excluding Republic of Cuba

**Average annual increase during the 1976-1977 period as compared with the average increase during the 1971-1975 period

The results of the economic development of CEMA member countries sharply contrast with the crisis phenomena in the capitalist system such as inflation, increase in unemployment, increase in prices and so on. According to the latest surveys and forecasts, no substantial improvement of economic results is expected and the already low rate of economic growth will further decrease in the capitalist states this year. A tense situation persists on the labor market and the unemployment rate, due to the advancing recession, will again increase. According to the data published in THE FINANCIAL TIMES, this year's index of consumer prices in seven countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) registered the following increases over last year's level: The United States 6.2 percent, Japan 4.5 percent, France 9.2 percent, Great Britain 9.1 percent, Italy 12.5 percent, the Netherlands, 4.6 percent and Belgium 6.0 percent. According to the report of the EEC Brussels Commission, production capacities in industry of EEC states are operating at only 78 percent of capacity and their utilization rate only insignificantly exceeds the level of the crisis year 1975. The number of unemployed in the EEC states exceeds 6 million which is 5.6 percent of the entire labor force. Yet, the experts of the EEC commission do not anticipate any improvement in the foreseeable future.

These facts prove the superiority of the socialist system of economy and clearly reflect the tendencies in the contemporary development of both world systems at the same time. The objective laws of social development create conditions for the structural changes in the world economy in which the future belongs to socialism and its economic system.

The 85th session of the CEMA Executive Committee approved for the next CEMA session the drafts of long-term target programs of cooperation which had been prepared by the CEMA organs. It has been characteristic mainly of recent years that mutual economic relations among CEMA member countries

have been assuming a long-term nature. They largely include projects very demanding on material, financial and labor resources which can be carried out only on the basis of multilateral cooperation. As an example we can refer to the long-term target programs of cooperation. Essentially, they are realistic long-term schemes to solve the most important problems of economic development by using the most effective ways and means for achieving the set objectives and for elaboration of a common course of action by the interested CEMA member countries. They are implemented comprehensively, that is, in all economic, social and other aspects on the basis of planning documents.

These documents contain several measures mutually agreed upon by the member countries and list the goals, resources, deadlines and those responsible for the fulfillment of obligations. These are long-term target programs of cooperation in the area of energy, fuels and raw materials, agriculture, food industry, engineering and so on. Their implementation will help meet the economically justified needs in the above areas. An organic part of long-term target programs is the application of scientific and technical progress in the branches and productions involved which will render planned solutions very effective. The long-term target programs of cooperation represent a very important contribution to the integration process because they expand the scope of and intensify the system of joint planning by the CEMA member countries and contribute to its further improvement.

Good results have been achieved in the area of scientific-technical cooperation. The CEMA member countries are jointly working on 17 problems of scientific-technical cooperation which involve approximately 500 scientific research and design organizations from almost all the member countries. They are successfully coping with problems of utilization and expansion of fuel-power resources, protection of metals from corrosion, comprehensive utilization of wood substance, development of medical instruments, new types of pesticides and so on. The 85th session of the CEMA Executive Committee could state that 447 scientific research projects had been completed which, among other things, had produced 44 new models of machinery, 87 models of instruments, 30 new types of materials and 23 new technologies in 1977. Scientific-technical cooperation could thus register further progress and multiply the contribution of science and technology to the national economy of all CEMA countries.

Among other things, the 85th session of the CEMA Executive Committee also discussed proposals for economic and scientific-technical cooperation during the 1981-85 period. It compiled in cooperation with the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Planning and CEMA Committee for Scientific-Technical Cooperation, a list of multilaterally coordinated problems for these years. The list comprises 97 projects of economic and 85 projects of scientific-technical cooperation. It is typical that all projects are incorporated in the long-term target programs. The largest number of projects pertains to the area of fuels, power and raw materials (77 altogether) and engineering (54 altogether).

The list of multilaterally coordinated projects of economic and scientific-technical cooperation specifies also those responsible for the fulfillment of tasks, deadlines and the CEMA organ which will evaluate the results of coordination. This example demonstrates that the CEMA member states create, with prudence and in advance, the prerequisites for further expansion of mutual cooperation in the near future. With equal responsibility, they solve urgent contemporary problems and according to a program also create conditions for long-term cooperation. Proof of this is the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration and the Long-Term Target Programs of Cooperation based on it.

The session of the Executive Committee also demonstrated among other things the willingness and good will to cooperate with the nonsocialist countries on the basis of international principles of equality, independence, mutual advantage and cooperation. Expansion and intensification of economic cooperation with the countries with a different social system occupies an important place in world politics. Not only the general public, but also and primarily business circles are interested in these relations which are in the center of attention of statement. Economic cooperation between states or economic groupings with different social systems can bring significant economic advantages to both parties and essentially contributes to the process of relaxation of international tensions, to the practical implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference. It has already become a rule today that many economic experts in the West highly appreciate and emphasize the practice of commercial and industrial relations with the socialist states because of their reliability and stability. Among other things they appreciate the fact that such cooperation leads to expansion of foreign trade, to the opening of new markets, contributes to higher employment and makes more efficient utilization of production capacities.

For these reasons, the world public followed with unprecedented interest the statement of Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo at the 85th session of CEMA Executive Committee. In his speech to the session participants, the Mexican president emphasized that Mexico wanted the agreement signed with the CEMA community to assume a specific and active form of cooperation. He recommended the exploration of additional possibilities of Mexico's bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the CEMA member states in other areas of economy, science and technology. He expressed appreciation of the fact that the economic development of CEMA countries was remarkable because of its stable, long-term, dynamic and harmonious mobilization of financial, human and material resources and expanding cooperation between the national economies of individual states.

The agreement on CEMA cooperation with Mexico was signed in 1975 and began to be practically implemented as early as the following year. A mixed CEMA-Mexico commission was set up which was to review and carry out multilateral cooperation in industry, agriculture, mining, sea transportation and other areas. In 1975 a group of experts from CEMA countries and from

the CEMA secretariat visit Mexico where they held many consultative and working meetings with the representatives of Mexican authorities and ministries. For the preparation of specific proposals within the mixed commission, work groups were established, of which, the work group for scientific-technical cooperation held its first meeting in Moscow in June 1977. These few examples make it clear that the economic relations of CEMA member states with other states expand and intensify because the countries of the socialist community offer these countries active assistance without any political conditions, on the basis of principles of discussions between equals and thus contribute to the consolidation of their economic and political independence from developed capitalist states and to the development of their own economy.

The cooperation of CEMA member countries continues to develop successfully. The 85th session of CEMA Executive Committee fully confirmed this again. Nevertheless, it is necessary to reemphasize the irreplaceable role in this process of the Soviet Union whose economic, scientific and technical potential is of key importance to the mutual relations of CEMA member states. We in the CSSR also realize that further expansion of our cooperation with the Soviet Union must be regarded as the basic prerequisite for further continuous development of our national economy. The report submitted to the 15th CPCZ Congress stated this in the following terms: "Precisely under the new conditions of the world economy, we must realize now more than ever the importance which the close economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union has for our economy. It lies not only in the fact that the Soviet Union will continue to be our biggest partner, but also, and particularly, in the stability, assurance and advantages of this cooperation."

Within the Czechoslovak national economy we must create all necessary conditions for it. In further intensification of mutual cooperation we shall unconditionally insure the continuity of these relations and create, taking into account the new aspects, all necessary prerequisites for the continuance of mutually advantageous cooperation, particularly by the development of new branches of engineering products suitable for export to the USSR which will be paid for by imports of necessary raw materials and new modern equipment. In addition to high-quality engineering products and equipment, our national economy receives from the Soviet Union today 92.6 percent of all crude oil imports, 99.9 percent of natural gas, 83.5 percent of iron ore, 58.2 percent of cotton and so on. Our mutual commodity exchange is to increase by fully 48 percent during the current five-year plan. It is typical that in this commercial exchange the mutual turnover of products included in the agreements on production specialization and cooperation will substantially increase.

Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, two socialist states, implement the process of gradual rapprochement of their economies reflected in the dynamic continuously higher level of mutual relations. The visit of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Leonid I. Brezhnev fully confirmed this fact. We have common goals and also the way to attain them. We have a common ideology and common views on economic, political and international problems. We cooperate in all areas of social life because we have adopted the principles of proletarian internationalism, comradely friendship and brotherhood. All this has created new, qualitatively higher mutual relations which benefit the people of both countries in their effort to build a developed socialist society.

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CSO: 2400

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR ENVOY INTERVIEWED ON PROGRESS OF GENEVA DISARMAMENT TALKS

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 11 No 22, 1978 signed to press 22 May 78
p 6

[HORIZONT interview with Ambassador Dr Gerhard Herder, GDR representative to the Geneva disarmament committee: "What Progress Has Been Made in Banning New Types and Systems of Weapons of Mass Destruction"]

[Text] HORIZONT: In the disarmament program of the socialist fraternal nations, a great deal of consideration is being given to the demand for banning new types and systems of mass destruction weapons. What progress has been made in solving this problem? In an article of the Geneva disarmament committee in the middle of last year (see HORIZONT, No 26/77, p 20/21), you also examined the status of negotiations on such a ban at that time. Can any progress be noted since that time?

Dr Gerhard Herder: The general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, emphasized again in his speech before the 18th Komsomol Congress the great significance which the USSR attaches to ending the arms race, particularly in the area of weapons of mass destruction, and offered specific proposals on this matter. The implementation of the Soviet initiative on concluding an agreement for banning the development and production of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, under consideration since 1975 by the United Nations and the Geneva disarmament committee, would no doubt be an important step toward a complete end to quantitative and qualitative arms intensification.

The discussion thus far of the USSR's proposal has contributed considerably to more and more nations recognizing the importance and urgency of solving this problem. The development of the neutron bomb has made it particularly clear that the misuse of scientific-technical progress for developing new types of mass destruction weapons poses serious dangers for all of humanity and that effective measures against it are therefore urgently needed.

This realization is especially reflected by the support which the Soviet proposal has received from an ever growing number of nations not bound by

any pact. In both the Geneva disarmament committee and the UN General Assembly, these nations actively support the ban on new weapons of mass destruction. In the long run, the Western nations cannot evade the discussion of this problem. Thus at the 32nd UN General Assembly, some of these nations, including Great Britain, Canada, the FRG, Belgium, Italy, among others, which, as is generally known, had previously been opposed finally supported resolutions on the ban of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons and for the first time submitted their own resolution draft. Once again, however, they refrained from voting on the resolution draft of the socialist nations. The difference between the two resolutions lies especially in the fact that the resolution adopted at the proposal of the socialist nations is oriented toward a comprehensive preventive ban on new mass destruction weapons, whereas the Western resolution recognizes the importance of the problem in a certain way, but provides no concrete measures. This different approach clearly shows what difficulties must still be overcome before a permanent barrier can be erected against an important area of the arms race.

With regard to solving this problem, it is also of significance that bilateral negotiations between the USSR and the United States have been going on for about a year on banning new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, especially on the ban of radiological weapons.

In the meantime, the discussion of questions related to an agreement on banning the development of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons also occupies a definite position in the activity of the Geneva disarmament committee. The committee's discussions with experts, scientists from socialist nations, including the GDR, have contributed significantly to clarifying many complex scientific-technical problems entailed in implementing the Soviet proposal.

As a result of the exchange of views which has taken place thus far in the Geneva disarmament committee, in August 1977 the USSR submitted a revised version of its draft of an agreement on banning the development and production of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, already submitted in 1975. This new draft takes into consideration a number of opinions expressed in the debate of delegations of other nations and therefore represents a good foundation for making progress in working out a respective agreement.

HORIZONT: What requirements would a respective agreement have to satisfy? What is the basic position of the GDR in conjunction with the USSR and other socialist fraternal nations?

Dr Gerhard Herder: In our opinion, the most reliable barrier against a continuation of the arms race with new types and systems of mass destruction weapons would be the conclusion of a comprehensive preventive agreement. It would have to be comprehensive in the sense that it would rule out any future use of the diverse and ever increasing possibilities of scientific-technical progress for creating new types and systems of mass destruction weapons. In this connection, preventive means that this agreement prohibits not only the

production and storage, but expressly the qualitative development of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons as well. The precise significance of this last aspect can be clearly shown by the example of the neutron bomb. This weapon has been developed and extensive financial resources have been allocated for it, constant attempts are made to also produce it. Finally, it is intended to be used as an instrument for changing the current approximately equal military balance of power. Such efforts jeopardize a continuation of the process of detente and place a serious burden on current disarmament negotiations. The proposal of NATO nations is therefore tantamount to holding negotiations on banning a specific new type of mass destruction weapon by individual agreements only when their development is specifically noted and not to meeting the worldwide demand for effective measures for stopping the arms race. Taken as a basis, it would hardly contribute to changing the currently still distorted situation that the arms race is hurrying on to negotiations for arms limitation and disarmament.

Together with the other socialist nations, the GDR actively supports the continuation of discussions on the basis of the broadened Soviet agreement draft, since this draft best meets the demand for a total and effective ban on new types and systems of mass destruction weapons.

HORIZONT: As before, there are debates on a definition of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons as a basis for determining the extent of the ban for a respective agreement. What problems are involved in this respect?

Dr Gerhard Herder: The USSR's original 1975 draft for the agreement made provisions for coming to an agreement, in special negotiations, on a general definition of the new types and systems of mass destruction weapons to be prohibited.

In the course of the exchange of views in the Geneva disarmament committee, however, representatives of imperialist nations particularly maintained that they did not consider a new definition necessary, since the term "mass destruction weapons" was already defined in 1948 by the United Nations. In the interest of reaching a quick understanding, the USSR acceded to this view. The broader agreement draft of 1977 contains a definition of new mass destruction weapons based the 1948 definition and takes into consideration scientific-technical developments which have occurred in the meantime. In this draft, new types and systems of mass destruction weapons means weapons which could be developed on the basis of already known scientific and technical principles or completely new principles and whose effectiveness is equivalent or superior to known types of mass destruction weapons.

Moreover, as a result of the discussions with experts, in one respect some examples were listed of possible new types of mass destruction weapons that should be prohibited by the agreement. These are radiological weapons, corpuscular radiation weapons, infrasonic and radio-frequency weapons. Provisions have been made to enlarge this list if necessary. By its flexible attitude, the USSR again emphasized its willingness to negotiate and cleared the way for progress in this area.

HORIZONT: What is the nature of the wish of the Soviet proposal to conclude individual agreements on banning specific types of such weapons?

Dr Gerhard Herder: As I have already explained, the socialist nations are working toward a comprehensive and preventive ban on new types and systems of mass destruction weapons in order to eliminate forever the danger of the development of such means of waging war. This does not mean that individual agreements on specific new mass destructions weapons would be ruled out, if they are useful for achieving a comprehensive ban or represent a specific implementation of a comprehensive agreement.

Article 1 of the Soviet agreement draft contains, among other points, a provision by which the nations participating in the agreement, should they consider it necessary, could conclude individual agreements on banning specific new types and systems of mass destruction weapons. Thus the wish expressed by some delegations of Western nations on the Geneva disarmament committee was also satisfied.

HORIZONT: What will further negotiations focus on?

Dr Gerhard Herder: The decisive obstacle to rapid progress is the negative attitude of some NATO nations concerning a comprehensive and preventive agreement. As grounds for their position, they maintain that the examples of possible development facilities for new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, cited by experts of socialist countries, are not valid. They deny the possibility of the development of such weapons in the foreseeable future. In addition, they refer to the complexity of determining the weapons to be prohibited by the suggested agreement and to alleged difficulties in verifying whether such an agreement is being kept.

In comparison, the representatives of socialist and unallied nations on the Geneva disarmament committee hold the opinion that with the necessary political determination, all undoubtedly complex questions of preparing and concluding an agreement on banning new types and systems of mass destruction weapons can be solved. The disarmament committee, with its many years of experience in working out agreements for limiting the arms race, has available all the prerequisites for this purpose. This objective is also served by the USSR's recent suggestion, in the context of a disarmament committee, to form a group of regulating experts. They would examine what possible development facilities for new types of mass destruction weapons would be included in the list of a comprehensive agreement.

Even greater efforts will also be necessary in the future in order to repel the resistance of imperialist forces to an effective ban on the development and production of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons and to put an end to this area of the arms race.

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CSO: 2300

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUSAK ADDRESSES CHRISTIAN PEACE ASSEMBLY IN PRAGUE

Moscow TASS in English 2149 GMT 27 Jun 78 LD

[Text] Prague, 27 Jun TASS--The fifth all-christian peace assembly ended here today. On the final day of the assembly, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Gustav Husak addressed a message to the participants in the assembly, he highly assessed the activity of the assembly which contributes to the common efforts of the progressive democratic and peace forces of the world.

The participants in the assembly adopted an address to governments of all countries in which they emphasize the danger of production of the neutron bomb for entire mankind, point to the existence of seats of tension in Africa, in the Middle East, in Latin America and in the Caribbean. The address says that in Europe, too, where the relaxation of tensions was achieved after the 1975 conference in Helsinki, there still exists a threat to genuine peace and cooperation among nations. The reactionary forces by their propaganda seek to cause a crisis, poison international relations, put obstacles to creation of the atmosphere of mutual trust. Mankind is still being threatened by racism, colonialism and neocolonialism. The participants in the assembly expressed the confidence that swift and consistent steps in the sphere of disarmament will be promoting liquidation of hunger, poverty, diseases and illiteracy.

The address to churches and christians was also adopted. It says that christians cannot hold a neutral stand when peace and justice are involved. The participants in the assembly expressed satisfaction with detente in Europe and declared their complete support for decisions of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

The message to churches and christians stresses that it is necessary to fight for durable peace on earth. Trade in armaments and the arms race are growing. New types of mass destruction weapons are being developed. The threat of the neutron bomb overhangs mankind. Fascist dictatorships are in power in many countries of Latin America and in other areas. Neocolonialism assumes new forms and strengthens in different countries.

The message expresses satisfaction over the holding of the special session of the United Nations general assembly on disarmament and the hope that it will prepare a concrete program aimed at achieving general and complete disarmament. The participants in the assembly expressed solidarity with the governments and peoples of the world, with the United Nations, declaring for a world without armaments and wars.

CSO: 2020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TASKS OF MINORITY INTELLECTUALS DISCUSSED BY HUNGARIAN FROM ROMANIA

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 5, May 78 p 2

[Article: "The Dignity of Uniqueness"]

[Text] This was the title of Erno Gall's essay (Editor-in-Chief, "Korunk") which is excerpted -- but without break in the line of thought.

Of the many incentives emerging from contemporary national and nationalist movements the outstanding ones, whose roots are ethical and emotional, attempt to insure and defend the dignity of an ethnic group. These historically valid movements are decreasingly instinctive, the conscious collective self-preservation and self-formation are becoming ever more characteristic. The increase of consciousness does not, however, contradict the role of certain emotional factors. Although the realization of national and nationalist goals is determined mainly by the power relations in society, economic sphere, and politics, and, to an extent, demography, it can not be doubted that the importance of emotional-moral choices and decisions, as they are made in the interaction of the individual community, is steadily increasing. Loyalty to the mother tongue and its culture, a national-ethnic feeling and pride and the acceptance of ethnic identity all belong to this category. They touch, to a smaller or larger extent, on the consciousness and feeling of dignity.

Lenin reminds us of the well-known Marxist dictum: the people who suppress other people can not themselves be free. He then emphasizes: "No one is guilty for being born a slave but the slave who does not even attempt freedom but justifies and beautifies the imprisonment (when, for example, he calls the strangling of Poland and Ukraine the defense of the great Russian homeland) -- such a slave is plate-licking trash, arousing the justified feelings of indignation, contempt, and disgust.

In the history of the interpretation of national-ethnic dignity we are directly interested in those views that expressed the consciousness-emotional views of the Hungarian minority in Romania between the two world wars. Those who accepted the new situation had to, in fact, confess also where did they, for the individual and the community, discover the assurances to a life with dignity. Where did they find those handles that lifted them out of the trauma? Is there a reason for a minority to erect ideals that point, beyond a mere sustenance of life, toward self-worth?

The difficult, in fact, painful questions inspired many answers. The later, bitter conclusion came from Sandor Makkai who was among the first to carry out the critique of the old, false views and has, already in the twenties, polished the incentive vistas of spiritual and moral uplift: "I can not imagine an arrangement of a minority life that is dignified because I regard the minority status itself as undignified and spiritually impossible for manhood." We question not the facts upon which the conclusion was based on but rather the validity of the gloomy prediction which extrapolated the given situation to an end conclusion declaring the insolubility of the minority question as a principle.

Already then Ferenc Szemler marshalled convincing arguments against the "law" of insolubility by the author of "It Can't Be Done." In the No. 1 issue of the 1937 "Hitel" he justifiedly argued that there are no fatal laws "finality and immutability" in the life of society. Szemler, who voiced humanist free-thinking in this polemic writing, noted correctly that the "minority fate is not necessarily equal with a complete spiritual imprisonment." His views were validated by the experience of the last 40 years.

Although Makkai departed from the older version of the new collective dignity with his "empire of the spirit and character," the world of Fabry's "obligatory humanism" offered to go somewhat beyond the common inferiority experience, even if with a compensation character. Life showed that there is a dignity in the "as it is possible" attitude so far as this does not mean giving up and an unprincipled bargaining but the creation of new values and a defense of rights.

Of course, the intellectuals grouped around the Korunk and the Hungarian Workers' National Federation (MADOSZ) were right in insisting that not a spiritual-moral compensation but the assurance of actual equality of rights -- which is done in alliance with the Romanian democratic forces -- will lift us out of the state of humiliation. The socio-psychological finding, stating that in these regions the series of historical catastrophes and collapsed illusions brought about a certain deformation, is correct. The line between the possible and desirable often disappeared and the over-sized national pride has often collapsed into humility. Overdone self-documentation is endemic. The practitioners easily mistake prestige for dignity. Jozsef Meliusz's remark has a deep significance in this connection: We Hungarian-Romanians can live freely and with dignity only with a Romanian people who cleave to their freedom and dignity in a free and dignified Romania. In a democracy."

10101

CSO: 2500

ROMANIAN EDUCATION GIVES ALL NATIONALITIES EQUAL RIGHTS

Bucharest INVATAMINTUL LICEAL in Romanian Apr 78 pp 1-2

[Article: "Instruction in the Languages of the National Minorities--An Expression of the Full Equality of Rights of All the Country's Citizens"]

[Text] Applying Marxist-Leninist principles creatively with regard to the nationalities problem, our party has shown constant concern for assuring full equality of all the country's citizens, whether they be Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, or of any other nationality. The party's general secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has repeatedly emphasized that the success our people have achieved in all domains of activity have been made possible through the common efforts of all citizens, regardless of nationality.

At the joint plenum of Hungarian and German Nationality Working Peoples Councils held in March of this year, Comrade Ceausescu stressed: "Only within the framework of the community, our homeland's all-round development, and a rising level of civilization in the country can we provide better conditions of national expression."

As in the case of other areas, the organization of our education constitutes eloquent expression of the party and state leadership's concern for promoting truly communist principles.

Our country has created and is operating an extensive school network to provide conditions so that young people belonging to national minorities can be educated both in their native language and in Romanian, according to their wishes. In what follows, we will refer in particular to instruction given in Hungarian and in German.

The educational network taught in Hungarian comprises all types of schools in our educational system. In the 1977-78 school year (daytime enrollment) it included 2,481 units and sections, including 1,098 kindergartens (672 units and 426 sections), 1,271 general schools (555 units, 715 sections), [sic] and 12 secondary schools and 100 secondary school sections. Starting this school year, in line with the overall orientation of secondary school

education, there will be a higher proportion of industrial-profile secondary schools taught in Hungarian. Thus, at present we have functioning 72 industrial-profile secondary schools and sections, 10 agroindustrial and forestry schools, 2 economics schools, 2 pedagogical schools, 2 art schools, 15 physics and mathematics schools, 3 natural science schools, and 6 philology and history schools. Along with these 2,481 units and sections taught in Hungarian in daytime enrollment, Hungarian is the language of instruction in evening enrollment courses comprising 35 secondary school sections and 163 gymnasium sections, the number of the latter being established in accordance with the requests of citizens. This development and diversification of the network provides children and youths with broad access to all forms of instruction; at present, these sections and units are attended by 252,553 children and pupils, including 52,580 preschoolers, 170,945 general school pupils, and 29,028 secondary school students. Simultaneously, 26,614 pupils are enrolled in secondary schools taught in Romanian.

On the basis of party and state decisions in recent years, some measures have been taken to determine better arrangement of the network of schools taught in German, comprising kindergartens, general schools, and secondary schools. At present there are 692 units and sections, including 321 pre-school facilities, 334 primary and gymnasium facilities, and 37 secondary school facilities; the network has 21 more units and sections than in the preceding school year. Significant improvements have been made in the profile structure of the secondary school education units. In the 1972-73 school year, for example, there were 17 humanities units and sections and one pedagogical school; at present we have 27 such units and sections of industrial profile, 1 agroindustrial, 7 mathematics and physics, 1 philology and history, and 1 pedagogical. In addition to the 692 daytime enrollment units and sections, German is the language of instruction in evening enrollment classes comprising 2 secondary school sections and 3 gymnasium sections. In accordance with their wishes, German-nationality children and students are assured schooling in units and sections taught either in German or in Romanian.

A total of 58,486 children and students are going to school in units and sections taught in German. At the same time, about 10,000 German-nationality pupils are enrolled in Romanian-language secondary schools.

The instructional-educational process in units and sections taught in Hungarian and German is organized and arranged in accordance with general norms which are uniformly established for all education in our country.

New, improved programs have been worked out to provide for the study of the pupils' native language and for mastery of Romanian, based on extensive consultation with teaching cadres and specialists. Both the subject-matter of the programs and the textbook content of this period are making a larger contribution toward strengthening brotherhood among working people without regard to nationality, toward strengthening the moral and political unity of the people of Romania.

With regard to textbooks, it is worth stressing that 114 titles with printings of 1,153,000 copies will be published in Hungarian in 1978 for the schools; in the case of German, 49 original texts, revisions, or translations were published in German, with printings totaling 164,824 copies. For the following year, plans call for completing and printing a number of texts for technical secondary school courses in German, eventually providing all the necessary texts called for by the new curricula.

At the same time, technical manuals published in Romanian will have a glossary in the back containing specialty terms, concepts, and expressions in the minority language, while those published in the minority language will have a similar glossary in Romanian.

All cycles of instruction organized in Hungarian and in German will be assured of a proportion of disciplines in the native language adequate to ensure thorough mastery of it. Thus, the proportion of hours taught in the particular language of the two nationalities runs between 76.2 and 83.6 percent in primary and gymnasium instruction, and 59 to 70 percent in secondary school, depending on the profile. Thus, the number of hours taught in the minority language in the curricula is generally equal to the number of hours allocated to the study of Romanian in Romanian-language units.

Pupils belonging to minority nationalities who attend Romanian-language schools or sections have the opportunity, if they and their parents so wish, to study and perfect their knowledge of their native language through special courses in an organized system.

We have presented briefly only a few of the aspects relating to education in the languages of national minorities; nevertheless, these aspects serve to illustrate the constant concern exercised by the party and state leaders for all the country's citizens, regardless of nationality, the profound humanism of our socialist society.

9078

CSO: 2700

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TEXTBOOKS FOR HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA IMPROVED

Bucharest INVATAMINTUL LICEAL in Romanian Apr 78 pp 2-3

[Article by Prof Ladislau Murvai, principal inspector, Ministry of Education and Instruction: "A Natural Process of Development"]

[Text] Our party and state provide pupils with broad opportunities to learn and study. Marxist-Leninist doctrine with regard to the nationalities problem is applied creatively, so that in counties where minority citizens live alongside Romanians a diversified network is also provided within the framework of secondary school education, in accordance with the country's socioeconomic and cultural requirements. Activities in the schools and sections taught in the minority languages are carried out and organized in accordance with the general norms which have been established uniformly for all of our country's education system.

A specific component of education in the minority languages involves the study of native languages (Hungarian, German, Serbian, Slovak, and so on). Thus, in the curricula of secondary schools in which instruction is in Hungarian, along with the hours specified for the study of subjects common to all units, plans provide for the study of Hungarian language and literature for the same number of hours as in the case of Romanian language and literature in schools taught in that language.

In recent years, especially since the plenum of the CC RCP of 18-19 June 1973, substantial measures have also been taken to improve the study of Hungarian language and literature. For example, in the case of secondary school instruction taught in Hungarian, steps have been taken to elaborate Hungarian literature programs and publish new, original textbooks. The programs have been drawn up by collectives of specialists made up of teachers with extensive experience in department work, university faculty staff, writers, and literary critics.

Starting with the 1977-78 school year, students in secondary school Hungarian classes have had texts on Hungarian literary history. This accomplishment once more points up the receptivity and constant concern by our country's leadership with regard to specific and timely problems of Hungarian schools, making it possible for them to keep pace with our society's vigorous development.

In order to help form generations of students brought up in the spirit of the high precepts embodied in the RCP's program to build a multifaceted socialist society and advance Romania toward communism, the textbooks have aspired, by means of the history of literature, to place more emphasis on the joint struggle of the Romanian people and the minority nationalities for a better life, on the efforts of Hungarian writers to realize the great ideals of progress, humanitarianism, and national brotherhood. The textbooks focus on the fact that the life of the peoples of this part of Europe has been determined, for centuries on end, by the common struggle against the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires. Hence one of the common themes of the textbooks, namely, that the literatures written in the different languages in these regions have many similar characteristics. Above all, mention should be made of the militant character of these literatures: the writers fought against the Turkish and Hapsburgian oppressors, against the dominant classes. Another feature common to these literatures is their popular character, which is vigorously demonstrated by the textbooks. The most significant Romanian and Hungarian writers came to the conclusion that the only way to fight successfully against the oppressors was through the united strength of the oppressed classes. Because of this, literature in this part of Europe is closer to the people than is the case with other areas where the problem of occupation has not been dealt with so acutely.

For example, the text for the 12th grade, published in 1977, firmly and adroitly makes good use of everything of value from Romania's Hungarian literature between the wars without, however, ignoring the criterion of class in the evaluation of literary phenomena. In treating literature written since 23 August 1944, the 12th grade text is profoundly educational in character, conspicuously focusing on the idea of cementing the friendship between Romanians and the national minorities and depicting their participation in the cause of jointly building a new life. By selecting and analyzing works by writers such as Nagy Istvan, Szemler Ferenc, Szilagyi Domokos, Szilagyi Istvan, and others, the study of Romania's Hungarian literature has taken on a more militant, patriotic, and educative character. The study of Hungarian literature, in this way, through the medium of works of value, contributes more toward the cultivation, in the minds of school children, of feelings of affection and dedication to our socialist homeland, the party, and the working people, toward bringing up these students in the spirit of communist ethics.

To be sure, some of the texts--in particular, those for grades 9 through 11, are not wholly consistent with today's requirements. They must be adapted to new objectives in the specialty domain and, in this way, contribute to the thorough ideological training of young people.

We must keep in mind that providing schools with modern technical equipment which is at the same time appropriate to schools taught in Hungarian is a matter of constant concern by those who make the decisions; this has made it possible to improve the teaching and learning process. For example,

work is under way on preparing slides, film strips, records, tapes, and so on, to continue to promote active instruction.

In these few lines I have merely sketched the general evolution of one object of study in Hungarian-language secondary schools which, thanks to the consistent, Marxist-Leninist nationalities policy, applied to the actual conditions of our country, on the basis of our educational system's democratic character, occupies an important place in the process of educating school children.

9078

CSO: 2700

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

L-410 AIRCRAFT PRODUCTION LINE HISTORY DISCUSSED

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech No 11, 1978 pp 420-422

[Article by Z. Formanek: "Who Makes 'Turbolet' Aircraft?"]

[Text] No, we are not posing this question in order to test your knowledge. Anyone who keeps up just a little bit with what is going on in aviation knows that the L-410 aircraft is made by the "Let" national enterprise in Uherske Hradiste-Kunovice. These aircraft are the product of the meticulous and highly specialized work of many skilled technicians. They are the product of the joint efforts of many skilled hands, of well planned organization, and also of well programmed computers. This whole complex and amazing process cannot be described in a few words and squeezed into the limited space available to us here. So, we have attempted to approximate that indefinable atmosphere that is so uniquely characteristic of an aircraft factory through a few photographs. But even the best of these photographs fail to capture the conscientiousness and meticulousness with which everyone here must work and which are displayed by everyone from the employees in the set-up workshop to management. Yes, this is a factory of specialists who have acquired their experience and skills through many years of hard work, and for them the technically advanced production of aircraft is most certainly more a vocation than just a job.

We had an opportunity to follow the L-410 through all the phases of its production, starting with the cut duraluminum sheet metal in the warehouse and on through the production of the fuselage rib frame and the assembly of the longerons (this phase alone attests to the almost clockwork-like precision of the aircraft assembly process), the shaping of the panels that form the skin of the wings and fuselage, the step-by-step assembly of the whole aircraft, and winding up with the finishing work. If we were to enumerate all of the components that go into the making of this nimble little aircraft, we would be dealing with astronomical figures, and this would undoubtedly also be the case when it comes to the number of individual jobs that must be performed in order to assemble this aircraft.

An aircraft usually comes into being on the basis of a customer's requirements that are gradually spelled out in ever clearer terms. Once these requirements

have been finalized, the job is handed over to the technical specialists who take into account world trends and the expected real and implicit service life of the aircraft and then draw up the designs (nowadays usually with the help of modern computer technology) for the finished product. Naturally, this is a highly simplified outline. The actual process is much more complex. But this is pretty much the usual sequence of events, and we mention it here only because a somewhat different procedure was followed in the case of the L-410. And in the uniqueness of this departure from standard operating procedure reflects well on the skills of the workers at the Kunovice plant.

The conceptual design of the Turbolet aircraft came into being before any future customers had been lined up. That is, the technical specialists who designed this aircraft were aware of the gap in our civil aviation transportation industry that needed to be filled by a small, economical plane that would be designed to carry a smaller number of passengers on short runs, capable of taking off even from unpaved airstrips, with short-runway take-off and landing capabilities, low maintenance requirements, high durability, capable of service under widely varying weather conditions, dependable, and relatively inexpensive. (Since we gave a detailed description of all of the technical specifications of the L-410 aircraft in an article published in issue No 17/1975 of LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA, we will not enlarge upon them in this article). But we should add, at least briefly, that orders for this aircraft did start coming in later on and that some of the parameters of the L-410 turned out to be more advantageous than originally expected by customers. Indeed, the L-410 passed a series of the most rigorous tests, in Tashkent and in Yakutsk at temperatures ranging between - 40 degrees C and + 50 degrees C, and proved its usefulness for many different kinds of missions. The members of the design team, who were trained by professor Spunda at the Military Academy of Technology, were able to rest assured that their "baby" came through unscathed either by the bitter cold or by the searing heat. We should also add that the L-410 is compatible with the international specifications of the BCAR and GOSNI [expansions unknown].

It is a major hallmark of the Kunovice aircraft works that since it was founded it has turned out well over 6,000 aircraft of various types, all of which were products of their respective eras. Initially, these aircraft were made entirely of wood, later on their designs incorporated mixed fabricating materials, and for many years now the plant has been producing increasingly more up-to-date and more technically advanced metal aircraft. Their design is consonant with and in many cases surpasses world standards.

The technology of aircraft construction has always placed the greatest demands on all categories of workers employed in this industry. To keep pace with the rest of the world and do the best possible job has meant that it has been necessary to constantly keep up with the latest trends in foreign technological development not only in the aircraft industry but also in allied industries. And the people at Kunovice have also done an excellent job in fulfilling this task. Notwithstanding its relatively brief history, the "Let" national enterprise of Uherske Hradiste-Kunovice has done its share to add to the good repu-

tation of Czechoslovakia and occupies a leading position among manufacturers of light and medium-size aircraft in the countries of the socialist camp.

However, the expression "relatively brief history" needs to be clarified somewhat. Initial excavation work at the site where the new Kunovice plant now stands got under way in 1950, but the old plant had been in operation ever since 1937. It was in that year that the branch plant of the Prague "Avia" works was opened in Kunovice where the various classes of aircraft produced by the main factory underwent inspection maintenance and general overhauls. Thus, the history of this plant begins in August 1937, and during the first 20 months of its existence (i.e., up until the beginning of the German occupation) repair work was done on 80 "Avia" aircraft, including four trimotor Avia Fokker F-IX's, six Bs-21's, five B-34's, 25 Ba-33's, and 40 B-534's. In performing this repair work the plant's new employees received their very first technical training. It is noteworthy that the opening of the Kunovice aircraft repair shops also coincided with the beginning of the career of the famous B-534. These aircraft took off from the plant site after undergoing repair and inspection maintenance work.

According to some sources, the famous air acrobatics version of the BA-122 with its "bent wings," designed for the airshow ace of that period, Frantisek Novak, who is so familiar to us from historical photos, also originated in the Kunovice plant. It was produced in two sections and bore the identification marking BA-422. At the end of 1938 the legendary two-motor high-speed B-71 plane, which was flown here for inspection maintenance, also began to appear in the skies above Kunovice.

Then came the occupation and war, which had an impact on the lives and destinies of almost all of the nations of the world while seeming to leave the working routine at the Kunovice plant unchanged.... The longed for moment did not come until 27 April 1945 when the first Soviet soldiers finally appeared in the plant's vicinity. The fascists had to retreat in such haste that they failed in their attempt to destroy the plant which had already been mined with demolition charges. They only succeeded in burning down the wooden factory halls, the materials warehouse, and the plant cafeteria. But the war was now at an end at Kunovice. With peace came the liberation, and then also it came time to eliminate the vestiges of the occupation period and to think about the future.

The complete history of aircraft production at the Kunovice plant was described in detail in the articles written by eng J. Krumbach for issues No 25 and No 26/1976 of LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA. Nevertheless, we will recapitulate the contents of these articles, in a shorthand manner at least, in order to round out our portrait of the manufacturer of today's Turbolet aircraft. After the war, the old plant started in again with repair and overhaul work. The extent of the problems that were encountered in the performance of this work is all but indescribable. The completion of repair work was dependent on deliveries of spare parts, but the scheduling of these parts deliveries and of the aircraft designated for repairs was irregular and often chaotic.

The economy was only just beginning to get itself reorganized and to recover from the disruptions of the occupation period. Nevertheless, a large number of aircraft underwent repair and inspection work at this plant. Without going into a chronological account, we will at least mention some of the aircraft that were serviced during this period, i.e., the S-199, the CS-199, the C-103, the C-104, C-105 and C-106, as well as the Spitfire, the La-5, and the ULa-5. We should also mention a few facts that will make it possible for us to appreciate the extent of the contribution made by the old Kunovice plant. The serial production of the Junak Z-22 all-wooden aircraft was transferred here from Otokovice, and this was also the first series of aircraft to be manufactured by the Kunovice plant. To this day the Z-22 is remarkable for its elegance of design and high performance as one of the most successful designs of the era of all-wooden aircraft. This plane was powered by a Praga D engine with an output rating of 55 KW (75 hp). It flew with a three-man crew at speeds of up to 130-140 km/h, and it had a range of 500 km.

The old plant also made a great contribution to the development of the sport of soaring in Czechoslovakia. In this regard we should recall the Galanka Z-124, the production of which was transferred here from Otrokovice, but, most importantly, we should recall the Pionyr LF-109 training glider, the series production of which was also assigned to the old Kunovice plant and marked a turning point in the area of soaring flight training, i.e., this model opened the era of dual-control glider flight training. The high point to date in the history of the old plant (and we trust that this history is not yet at an end!) was marked by the development of the all-metal two-seat Blanik soaring glider, which was produced in what probably amounts to the largest series in the world, i.e., considerably in excess of 2,000 units. This glider aircraft is still in production.

The new Kunovice plant was opened during the new era in aviation, and it had to overcome many obstacles and difficulties. Its management had to expend a great deal of effort and energy. However, the rising star of this new plant soon shone forth in all of its brilliance, and today, after more than a quarter of a century, one can look back with admiration at the results it has achieved.

The new era in the history of the Kunovice plant was inaugurated with the production of the C-11 aircraft. Is there anyone who does not know about this Soviet plane designed by the Jakovlev Aircraft Design Office and built at the Kunovice plant under the terms of a licensing agreement? The first C-11 took off from Kunovice on 29 October 1953, and 707 of these aircraft were subsequently produced. They went into service not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in seven other countries where they were exported. Soviet pilots set a number of world records flying these planes.

Another famous class of aircraft, which marks yet another chapter in our aviation history and in the development of which the "Let" national enterprise of Uherske Hradiste-Kunovice played a part, is represented by the Ae-45, the Ae-45S, and its subsequent modification in the form of the Ae-145.

After the completion of 200 units and in spite of all the successes that were achieved, the production of the original Ae-45's by the "Aero" national enterprise was suspended and most of the blueprints were destroyed. But the demand for this aircraft on the part of foreign customers was so strong that the production of this aircraft was eventually resumed, this time in the new Kunovice plant and in conjunction with numerous design improvements. At the same time, however, it took 20,000 hours to redraft the obsolete or damaged design blueprints that were still available. This work involved the redesign of 5,000 production steps, 30 assembly blueprints, and 20,000 minor blueprints! The aircraft produced in the Ae-45, Ae-45S, and Ae-145 series made this plant famous not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in other European countries and in the countries of Africa, Asia, and America.

After the Ae-45 series, came the L-200 and the L-200A, a comfortable and dependable, small, multipurpose, five-passenger aircraft. Its initial introduction and display at foreign air shows aroused such a great deal of interest that the preliminary orders alone were enough to cover the projected series production set-up costs. This production program culminated with the series modification in the form of the L-200 D, and the production of this aircraft class came to an end with the completion of 14 series amounting to a total output of 360 units in all model versions. The A version was exported to 16 countries, and the D version was exported to 13 countries; 170 L-200 aircraft were exported to the USSR alone.

We are already talking about recent history when we note the first appearance of the L-29 Delfin in our skies. Let us see what the "Let" national enterprise had to do with the development of this successful product of our aircraft industry. The first L-29 produced at Kunovice took off on 29 April 1963, and while the licensed series production of this aircraft was in full swing during the 1960's, work was already getting under way here on an aircraft which was to feature for many years in the production program of the Kunovice plant. This is in reference to the Cmelak Z-37. The advent of the Z-37 marked the end of the era of experimentation and improvisation in the area of agricultural aviation. The Z-37 was a completely debugged product designed to perform special-purpose missions (it was built under the terms of a subcontracting agreement with the "Moravan" plant in Otrokovice; subcontracting arrangements will emerge as a more and more topical issue in connection with the optimalization and rationalization of production in the near future).

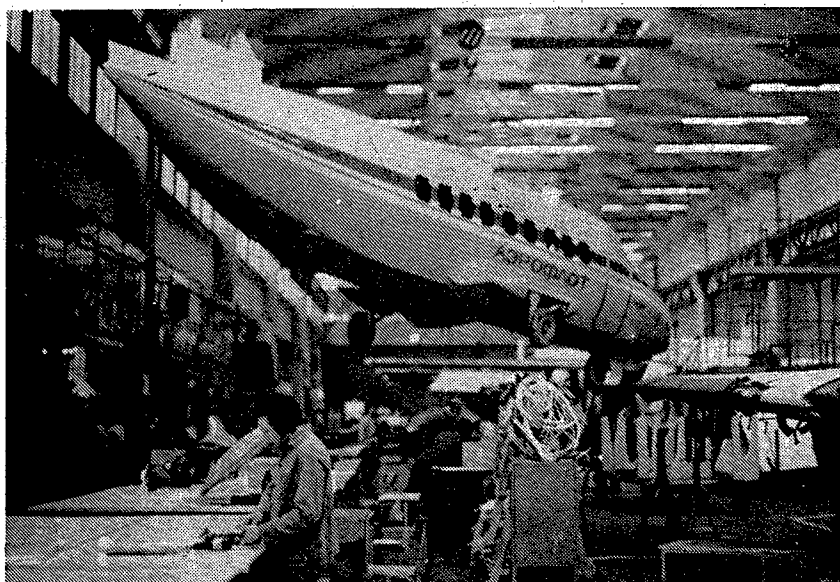
The current production program of the Kunovice plant is focused on the L-410 in all of its various models, and it is to be expected that this aircraft will have a long and promising future. It might be said that the economic security of today's aircraft factories is a function of being able to produce aircraft in the largest possible series.

So, one can sum up by saying that the Kunovice plant has produced the following aircraft series: the Z-22, C-11, C-11U, Ae-45, Ae-45S, Ae-145, and L-29. Models that were both designed and produced by the Kunovice plant include the Z-37, Z-237, L-200, L-200A, and L-200D aircraft; current independently designed models include the L-410A, the L-410F (the special model equipped for aerial photography), and the L-410M aircraft.

With these few photographs and accompanying explanatory text we have attempted to describe the promising start of the L-410 production program. At the same time we could not avoid making a few brief comments about the history of the Kunovice plant. But for a young plant it is the future that is most important, even though its future is of course a product of its past history. And a plant which enjoys such a solid reputation both here in Czechoslovakia and abroad can look to the future with full confidence....

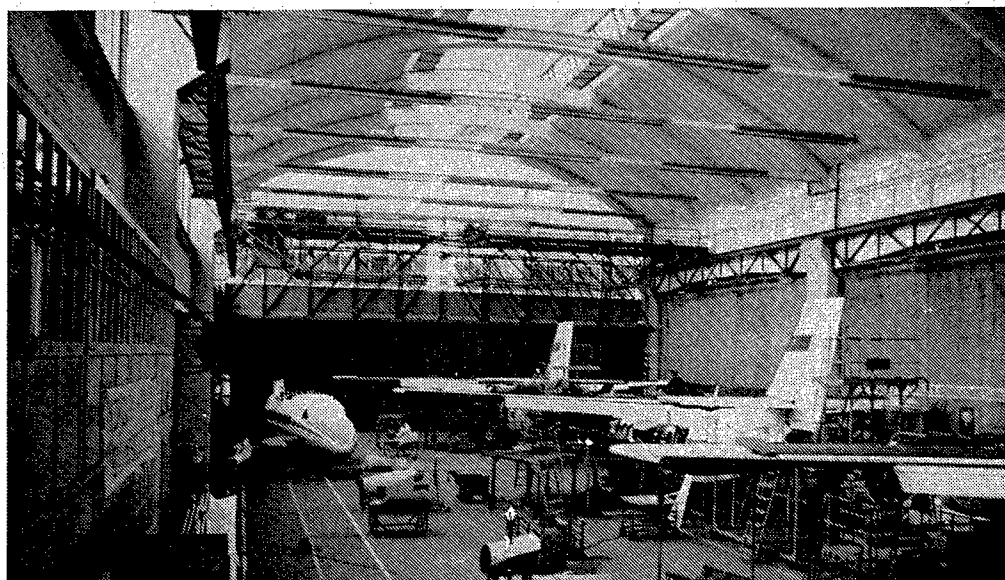
[caption text]

Even during this production phase the exterior painting of the L-410 fuselages has already been completed. Experience has shown that it is much harder to spray paint the finished product, and conversely, the fuselage exteriors that have been spray painted in this way are not damaged during the production process.

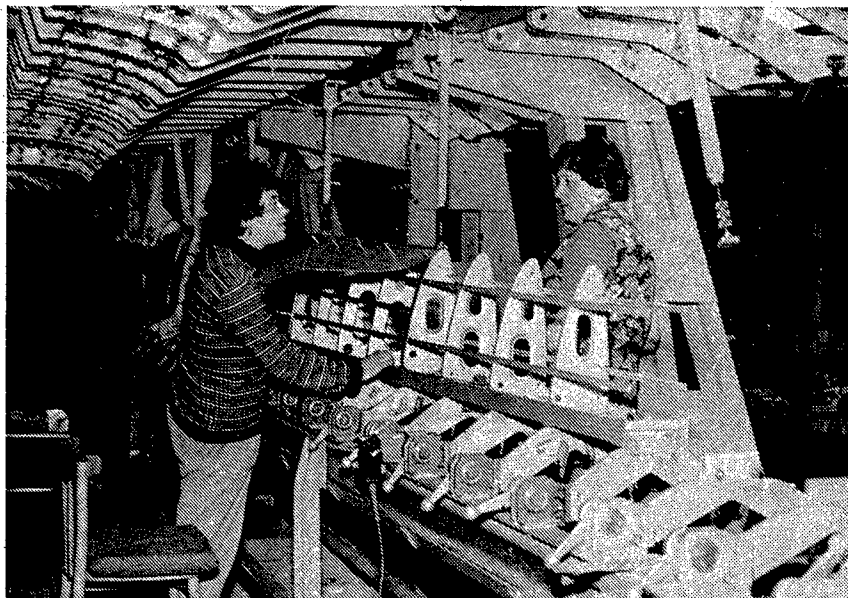


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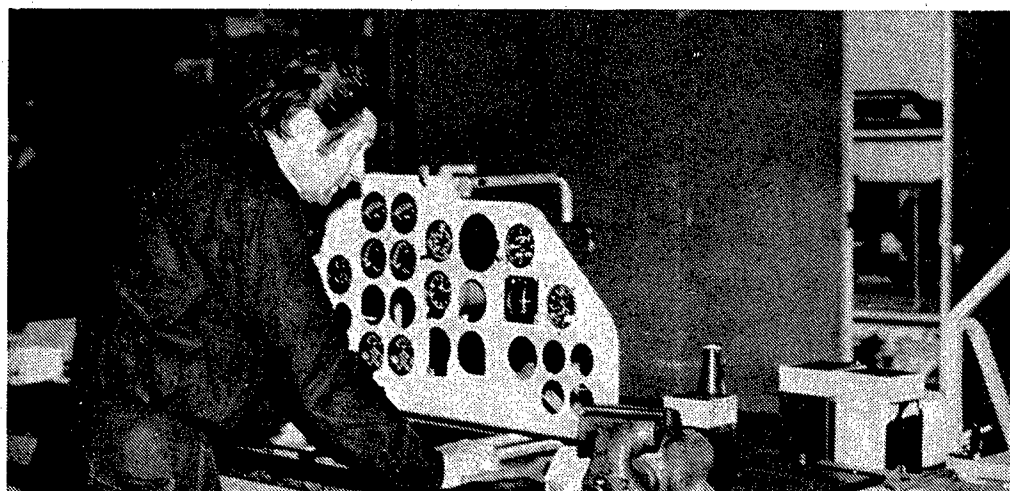
A view of the assembly hall. An L-410 fuselage, which looks like this when it is brought into the assembly hall, is seen in the background mounted on a dolly truck. It is characteristic of aircraft assembly halls that a relatively small number of technicians are at work around the aircraft. Only as many technicians as are actually needed are at work so that they do not get in each other's way.



[caption text]
Women too can
perform demanding
jobs, as seen here
assembling the
leading edge of
a wing in accor-
dance with a
complex pro-
duction blue-
print. The wing
skin panels are
chemically
milled.

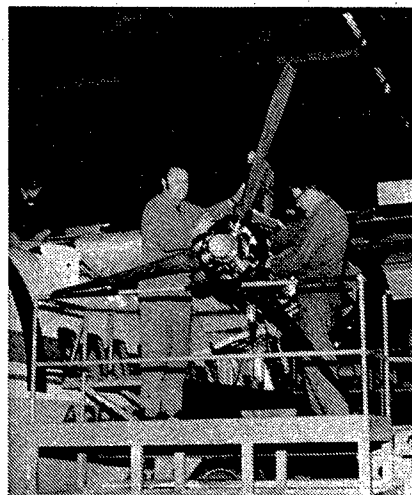


[caption text]
Installation
of instruments
in a cockpit
controls
panel.





[caption text] This is what the L-410 engines look like after being removed from their protective housing and exposed to the light of day. Here they are undergoing their pre-installation inspection.



[caption text] Here the engines and the propellers are already being installed in their nacelles. Note the protective coverings on the propeller blades.



[caption text] This man is responsible for interior wiring. The quantity of multicolored cables underneath the "skin" of the Turbolet aircraft is truly amazing, and the total length of all this wiring runs into the tons of kilometers. The schematic diagram of this wiring work is shown on the blueprint taped to the fuselage.

11813

CSO: 2400

HUNGARY

ARBITRARY SANCTIONS USED TO CONTROL STUDENT BEHAVIOR CONDEMNED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Jun 78 p 6

[Article: "Because they found them in one bed--Morals and Semblance of Morals--Did they witness behavior unworthy of university students?" by Sandor Vegh-Alpar]

[Text] Motto: "Since Adam and Eve, sex is the greatest cause of trouble."
(from a sexology text book).

To complete the motto: In appearance morality controls what goes on below the waist, but this is a basic misconception.

Whoever turns 18 in Hungary is considered to have come of age, to be ripe for marriage, party membership and even to carry a weapon in the army. As soon as he graduates from high school and acquires the necessary points, he receives a written notification that he is ready to continue his university courses.

Coming of age, marriage, party membership, bearing arms, university courses are all birthday presents. But we wonder how each deals with them in their lives. In my opinion this is a moral question: That's just it...

Ten years ago as a result of a sociological study it became evident that 48 percent of the students polled did not have any idea what socialist morality is.

One of the opinions voiced was this: "The conditions for it do not yet exist today. It only gives general guidelines." Is this opinion surprising? The following will testify that it is not entirely without reason.

To Use an Example.

In January, three first year university students from the Budapest Technical School department of construction engineering were expelled for two semesters as a disciplinary measure. The reason for the decision: "They demonstrated behavior unworthy of a university student." Four months have passed since

then but in spite of the efforts of the university's administration the case is still on the agenda. Quite the contrary, the emphasis becomes stronger when it is mentioned. At the end of April the Technical School at its VIT festivities organized a debate about the case evidently to calm the spirits-- but to no avail. At the KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] meeting of delegates in mid-May it was the university's political leaders who made statements about the case and say that soon the president's office will also deal with it. For "hearsay" topics are not discussed there.

What Actually Did Happen?

The following can be read in the university newspaper: "In the morning hours a young man skimpily dressed, that is in a bathrobe, came into the four bed dormitory room. He was looking for his girlfriend to discuss with her where they were going to go that day. There were only three girls left at home, the fourth one having left earlier for an exam. Quietly, he woke up his girlfriend, sat on the edge of the bed and started talking. Suddenly a new male guest arrived who was looking for the girl at the exam. They told him where she was and approximately when she is coming back. He sat down on the absent one's bed to wait for her. Later, he stretched out on the unmade bed and fell asleep. The supervisor coming in at 8:30 found 5 sleeping people in the room. Two girls slept peacefully in their own beds and the young man in the bed of the one gone to the exam. Moreover, those two together. Whether anything happened besides this, no one has concerned themselves. In any case it became known as a case of group sex...."

The Vasarhelyi college has a student self-government which has a committee that decides on disciplinary matters. Following a short debate they censured all five students for breaking the college rules. This decision was accepted by those involved but not by the principal of the college. He found it too lenient and believed that it is time to make an example of it for the sake of discipline.

Which means that there was trouble with discipline. But why? The university rules guarantee full democracy for its residents even in sexual matters. After all they are of age and mature for such matters, even for the most biased sexual ethics. This means that any student may receive guests from 8 AM to 11 PM, and with the approval of the college president, the guest may even stay till morning.

The rules for the entry of guests are laid down by the regulations. "Do you also allow for intimate meetings?"--I asked Dr. Gyula Szabo, director, who was himself a resident of the building six years ago.

"We cannot keep guest rooms under such crowded conditions."

In the Vasarhelyi collegium there are 380 students living in 111 rooms. During this academic year the number of rooms was even smaller. They were painting the building. In accordance to the workmen's pace, the students

were moved from one room to another. On that December morning the supervisor came into that particular room to tell the girls that they could move back into their own room. What she saw however determined her to denounce it to the college president as something else: as group sex.

The Fact Has Not Been Proven.

"According to this, sexual encounters are possible only with the approval of the roommates..."

"Exclusively."

"Therefore can it happen that at night in the other bedroom a young woman or man may stay over even in the presence of others?"

"It certainly does happen but we take note of it in silence."

"Do the house rules of the college regulate such a situation?"

"What it says is this: 'the code for college coeds requires that boys and girls treat each other respectfully.'"

"Therefore is no such thing. And still you made a sex issue out of this incident. Why?"

"Because this is what it was. Nobody could tell me that when two 20 year olds lie next to each other in bed, they discuss lottery results. And if it is so, they are sick."

Sex or illness--odd alternatives. And by no means is it what we are discussing. If we stay with the first alternative than it becomes clear that there is an awareness of a situation arising directly from overcrowding at the university but only until somebody is caught in flagranti. "Do it, but do not let us see it."

It is true that sex never existed without rules. But the rules do not necessarily mean prohibition, but rather the form. For the time being neither the collegium nor its administration can resolve this problem. This is evidenced by the deterrent example of expelling the three students. Why? Mainly because they made a judgment based on appearances when it is exactly those appearances that they are trying to keep up.

This is evidenced by the fact that at the Vasarhelyi college the fact is still regarded as a sex issue even though they were not able to prove it. And so when the collegium president increased demands, the state disciplinary committee of the construction engineering faculty brought a decision based on this--simply by a majority vote--according to which the two young men and the girl sharing the bed "showed evidence of behavior not worthy of a college student." Therefore this was conceived in such a way as to bring about a

situation which even in appearances is contrary to socialist morals... In this justification there are shocking contradictions, but more about this later.

Virgin, Without a Partner.

It is not an insignificant item what Dr. Geza Gyorkos, the head of the dean's office, himself a member of the committee passing down the sentence, said: "One of the bases of university education is the collegium. That is why the resident students must learn the rules of socialist coexistence. Even if at this price."

Granted, but what kind of rules of coexistence are those which on the one hand quietly accepts the maturity of the university students and everything that follows from this? On the other hand if they catch them at it (let us be precise: if it appears that they have caught them at it) not only their maturity is contested but also their right to continue their studies.

Isn't it too arbitrary to attach to these peculiar rules of communal living, the "socialist" label? Because we are living under socialism for the past 33 years does not mean that everything has to be labelled as such. If it would only be that way, then everything would be all right in the area of socialist morals. The fact that today this is not the case, should not give anybody the right to misuse this word. It seems that nobody at the Budapest Technical Institute's disciplinary committee is bothered by the fact that "appearances" and "morals" are two mutually-exclusive concepts. Or the fact that sexual mores are only part of the socialist morals (and causes a lot less trouble than let us say, respecting state property). The startling sentence was important in the name of the socialist morality adapted to its own purposes.

And the fact that our university students have only a vague idea about it, was mentioned not only in the earlier evaluation but also by the fact that the expelled students--although they had a right to--never contested the sentence.

I had only one more question for the president of the college: "In one of our May periodicals I read a study about the sexual life of our university students. It said that 40 percent of the boys do not have a permanent sexual partner and that 34 percent of the girls are virgins... We are talking here about grown people who may enter marriage, who may voice freely their political opinions and carry a gun in the army. What is your opinion about this study?"

"I do not believe it."

Perhaps because the appearances seem to be different...

We live in the years of formation of the socialist morality.

8419

CSO: 2500

POLAND

PARTY DAILY DISCUSSES BENEFITS OF NEW CONTROL COMMITTEES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 78 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Wasilkowski: "Social Control--An Issue of the Social Constitution"]

[Text] The improvement of the state, the economy and the organization of everyday life is linked inseparably with the need for an expansion and strengthening of social control. This relates equally to that social control which finds expression in an institutionalized manner and to that which results directly from an active life posture, from not accommodating oneself to evil, from searching for better, more effective solutions.

The Second National PZPR Conference has recognized an increase in the effectiveness of social control as a main link in the development process of a socialist democracy, together with a strengthening of the autonomy of and an increased role for the national councils. An important practical advance in this sphere will be the social control committees created in the national councils.

In this matter the State Council has already submitted to the Sejm an appropriate draft law at the end of March of the current year. The Sejm committees are reviewing the draft, while vojvodship teams of deputies are conducting consultations on it with the voters. Discussions on the role of the future committees, their location and the proper delimitation of the sphere of their tasks are also being held in the national councils. Interesting statements on this topic have appeared in the press and also in the other means of mass communications.

This period of consultation and discussion is necessary and important, and not only for the reason that it permits a better determination of the final shape of the law, but also because it aids a broad acquisition of awareness of the rank of social control in the system of socialist democracy and prepares public opinion for a fuller utilization in practice of this important tool which social control constitutes.

In many statements the observation is made that institutional forms of social control are in our country sufficiently well developed and that hence the main problem is not their further extension, but the ensurance of greater effectiveness for their activity. It is precisely for this purpose that the social control committees attached to the national councils must serve above all.

The creation of the committees--this needs to be stressed expressly--does not aim at the diminution of the role and powers of existing organs of social control. To the contrary, the main task of the committees will be to give a greater impetus to the activity of all these organizations. This can come about through the joining of their efforts as well as through rendering them aid in the materialization of the proposals that result from the control activity.

This function of the committees will benefit from their location in the national councils, the local organs of state power and at the same time important links of self-government. This function should also benefit from the composition of the future committees which are to gather together active, energetic and engaged people with authority.

Under these conditions a new possibility will arise for giving significantly greater effectiveness to citizens' criticisms, demands and initiatives. The social control spokesmen authorized by the committees will receive complaints from the citizenry on the activity of state institutions, economic units, and social and cooperative organizations, etc., and also suggestions relating to the improvement of these activities.

It seems that this new solution should serve well not only for the effectiveness of interventions in individual matters, but also for broader social goals. The collection of complaints, demands and proposals in the hands of the committee after all favors their deeper analysis, which can lead to certain generalizations and consequently to further-reaching improvement changes. It is particularly these tasks which the draft law on the creation of the committees stresses. Linked with this is the obligation rigorously laid on them to be on the lookout for a correct relationship to press criticism on the part of state, economic and other organs.

In sum, hence, the appointment of the social control committees attached to the national councils appears as an important event in our sociopolitical life. However, the matter needs to be considered also in a much broader constitutional structural context.

Poland has reached a period in which further progress commensurate with our ambitions and the already objectively existing possibilities requires to a much broader degree than at any earlier time an appeal to social development reserves, and hence to the large reserves which dwell in the activization of the citizenry's behavior and activities in the spirit of concern for the economy. The wider the field for constructive criticism,

initiatives, ingeniousness, and all types of rationalizing activities, the more effective are such appeals.

The expansion and deepening of democracy is not only a general ideological postulate stemming from the socialist conception of society. It is at the same time--and that to a more significant degree than hitherto--a condition for the practical realization of our development plans. This applies to democracy in all its aspects, and it applies--perhaps chiefly--to social control.

This kind of control is urgently required for the purpose of improving individual elements of the organization of society--administration, trade, etc. It is necessary for the elimination of manifestations of mindlessness or of common loafing, of messing up, rule-breaking and distortion, and to ensure that all rights of the citizenry are fully observed in practice. At the same time, however, it is also needed for the sake of its constitutional-structural values--as an agent and a form for drawing the working people into the governmental process in the broadest meaning of the word.

And precisely this is one of the substantive preconditions for mobilizing social development reserves. Joint economic activity and joint responsibility: these are categories having profound objective bases in socialist societal conditions. Nonetheless, their spreading and the possibilities for utilizing them for the common welfare also depend--and that to a very significant degree--on the practice of everyday life, on the practical functioning of socialist democracy.

For the creation of such practical conditions favoring the emergence of a feeling of joint economic activity and joint responsibility, important tasks are to be fulfilled by the party organizations and authorities. What is at issue here is, among other things, that the style of party work should constantly reflect an awareness of the importance of these problems, both in the long-run and structural sense (the building of a developed socialist society) and with respect to the conscientious realization of the socioeconomic tasks of the present decade.

The development of social control is a potentially important factor supporting the party in the implementation of its directive function, and also in the deepening of ties with the various social groups. Civic initiative in this area requires support and concrete help. This obviously also applies to the social control committees attached to the national councils, whose future role will to a large degree be dependent upon a good and ambitious start.

It is also important, however, that this support and concrete help should assume forms that do not intimidate social initiative but, on the contrary, incite such initiative, that the issue of improving different spheres of our life should find as many active allies among the working people as possible, and that new layers of social energy should be called forth to the benefit of this task.

POLAND

SCIENTIST COMMENTS ON NEW WEAPONS, DISARMAMENT

Warsaw WTK TYGODNIK KATOLIKOW in Polish No 15, 9 Apr 78 p 5

[Interview with Prof Ignacy Malecki, member PAN Presidium, director PAN Institute of Fundamental Technical Research, Polish delegate UN Disarmament Committee]

[Text] Radiation Weapons--a New Danger to the World

In the UN Disarmament Committee in Geneva a group of prominent experts--scientists from 14 of the most technologically developed countries in the world--gathered for the second time last fall. The theme of their deliberations was the development of new kinds and systems of mass-extinction weapons. Prof Ignacy Malecki, member of the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN], director of the PAN Institute of Fundamental Technical Problems, took part in these deliberations. The experts, first of all the physicists and biologists, focused their attention on various phenomena apt to become a starting point for the construction of new, thus far unknown weapons, but most of all on "a future direction" which can be the use of weapons based upon radiation phenomena. To a lay person--for whom a surprising recent military achievement is the neutron bomb launched by some circles in the United States and in Western Europe--radiation phenomena as a weapon of massive strike means nothing. We turned to Professor Malecki for the explanation of these phenomena and of the possibility of forging "a weapon of tomorrow" from them:

[Answer] There is no clear-cut boundary between "weapons of tomorrow" and the present time. Radiation phenomena do occur. People are subject to them. Even small changes in the physical conditions of human environment produced, for instance, by the action of sun spots--and we know that, as their result, there appear intense electromagnetic perturbances--cause the growth of a number of some types of illnesses. Similar changes in the conditions of environment can be centupled through intentional action of suitably selected electromagnetic waves, causing massive and grave diseases within the radiation range of the waves.

[Question] That is to say the starting point of the Geneva discussion by experts was the physical, natural phenomena occurring in nature from time immemorial?

[Answer] Yes and no. Prior to technical progress in armament, new perspectives connected with science attainments opened chiefly in two domains: physics, chemistry and microstates, and molecular biology. The first of them offers foundations for the exploitation of huge energies hidden in bound elementary particles. The second, while forming the picture of molecules in living cells, offers simultaneously an idea how these molecules can be destroyed. However, the starting point of our work and discussion is chiefly--to use words from the parlance of the military--the target of a massive strike: the human organism. Overlooking psychological problems, the human organism is a compound physicochemical system with a strongly differentiated electromagnetic conductivity and mechanical resilience. It was hence justly emphasized in Geneva that even small changes in bio-currents, bio-potentials or mechanical vibrations have a decisive influence upon the health and life of people. To illustrate these statements, results were used from bio-meteorology, a science which is making such outstanding advances. Yet contemporary technology easily allows for disturbing natural conditions to a much larger degree than it occurs on occasions of even extremely strong natural incidents.

[Question] Are these phenomena well recognized?

[Answer] This is precisely to the point! This is a domain not fully explored yet and containing great possibilities for creating new kinds of mass-extinction weapons.

[Question] For example?

[Answer] Numerous life processes have a resonant character and are therefore particularly sensitive to the external fields of the same frequencies. The rhythms connected with the activity of the brain are most distinguishable and occur within the range from 0.5 hz (half a hertz) for a low rhythm called by physicians a delta rhythm, and up to 35 hz for a high beta rhythm. The second sphere of organic phenomena stimulating the work of the heart is the rhythm of blood pulsation which appears on the basic frequency of the order of 80 hz. The third important group is made up of resonance vibrations of mechanical systems. Among these are the vibrations of the abdominal cavity, of the chest and of the head-neck constitution. Here the resonance frequencies vary within the range of 10 to 40 hz. It is enough for a man to be within a sufficiently strong field of vibrations on those frequencies and serious disturbances of his biological functions will occur.

[Question] To kill the rhythm of the heart by a wave! Is this a hypothesis? Is the terrible possibility real?

[Answer] This is a real, technically already possible threat today. A resonant action disturbing the biological rhythms of life may be brought about by either a direct wave of a given frequency or a wave of a higher frequency suitably modulated. The first way of activity takes place at infrasonic and the second at electromagnetic waves. The application of electromagnetic waves of very low frequencies of the order of several tens of hertz could not be excluded, especially that the resonances between the earth and the ionosphere in the range of about 10 hz help in dispersing these waves. These facts imply the need for a new critical look at the danger looming in our eyes of constructing a radiation weapon--first of all of an acoustic field above 10 hz and of electromagnetic waves of above 10 giga hz.

[Question] How did the Disarmament Committee experts treat the fact of potential destruction of humankind by the radiation weapon?

[Answer] First of all, their various aspects were discussed. It was pointed out as an example that infrasonic and electromagnetic waves of low frequency have--as a weapon of massive strike--a characteristic feature of bending, i.e., they avoid obstacles and the sphericity of the earth, not being in the optical range as are ultrasonic waves or centimetric radiowaves. They can, therefore, strike both domestic and foreign populations. But in a group of experts the question of an energetic pencil concentration and of balance was proposed as a counterargument. Some experts put forward a hypothesis that through the application of proper devices to "dephase the waves," this matter could be solved to a degree of protecting the home territory while the vast area of enemy territory would be submitted to the action of the waves. It was equally emphasized that as the action of the feeding sources grew more effective it was conceivable that suitable transmitters could act from the air, which additionally would increase their range enormously.

[Question] Evidently, the concept of "ammunition" has no meaning in this weapon.

[Answer] For the radiation weapon the concept of ammunition has no application because the process of emitting energy can be continued at will, if only there are feeding sources. I shall add here that another terrible feature of the radiation weapon will be the invisibility of its action. "The dark rays" can strike unexpectedly and very effectively.

[Question] So far, the neutron bomb seemed to be the peak of human capabilities to kill a fellow man. Physics has presented us with a still more dreadful perspective of dying in a radiation war....

[Answer] Science creates various possibilities. The right of choice belongs to man. It is up to us whether from the attainments of physics we choose what serves peace and the development of human society, or what serves war, killing and extermination of life. This is a truism quoted by

the way. I will only add that radiation weapons are but a segment and not the most murderous one of the "arsenal of tomorrow" presented at Geneva. One turns pale at the hypotheses discussed in a matter-of-fact manner about the application of a stream of elementary particles in a massive strike, about the prospects of a "climatic" war, for instance, about "ozone windows" in the stratosphere....

[Question] A Polish reader has no idea about these things. Hence a few words about those "windows"....

[Answer] As we know, the upper layers of the earth's atmosphere are surrounded by a layer of an isotope variety of oxygen called ozone. This overcoat has a real significance for life on earth. It does not let through to her surface the ultraviolet radiation lethal to all nature, including man. Among people planning wars a hypothesis of "piercing" a hole in the ozone overcoat has thus taken shape, an opening, a "window" or a space through which ultraviolet rays could freely reach the surface of the earth, obviously destroying everything that is alive in the field of its activity. It is possible of course so to set the localization parameters of this "window" and so to synchronize its "piercing" with the position of the source of ultraviolet rays--the sun--so that within and during a determined time the radiation stream would hit a selected country on the surface of the earth and would burn the enemy and his environment. Theoretically such a maneuver is already possible and feasible today.

[Question] The experts and scientists spoke then about all this, for instance about the prospects of a radiation war, about the possibility of piercing "windows" in the ozone layers without any immediate protest? Without any action or pressure upon the political authorities of states and upon setting public opinion in motion favoring the conclusion of suitable international conventions which would exclude the use of these weapons from the arsenal of tomorrow?

[Answer] The modified proposal of the Soviet Union concerning international agreement on the prohibition of developing and producing new kinds and systems of massive extermination weapons was precisely the starting point for all our discussion.... The conclusion of this agreement is one of the fragments of the disarmament complex.

[Question] What position did the experts of the West take?

[Answer] It is difficult to generalize or be precise about the nuances of particular positions. However, the guiding thread of our partners from the Western countries could be summarized as follows: "We cannot forbid anything that we do not know. What does not yet exist...."

[Question] In other words, they are against any kind of preventive action. Would it not be too late for prohibitions, if the radiation weapon were a fact and not a possibility, as has been the case up to now?

[Answer] This is the position of experts from our bloc. These mass-extermi-
nation weapons can still be prevented through an international agreement,
through the mobilization of public opinion, through cooperation.

And what about a further fate of our work and expertise? It is difficult
for me to express myself on this subject. I am a physical engineer, not a
politician. A complete set of materials from our papers has been presented
to the Disarmament Committee. I reckon that a further direction, manner and
pace of the work of our group of experts depends upon practical decisions;
these, however, will be taken on the forum of a special session of the UN
General Assembly devoted to disarmament problems in the current year.

9099

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ROMANIA

CONTINUITY OF ROMANIAN PRESENCE IN CARPATHO-DANUBIAN AREA

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, May 78 pp 28-30, 35

[Article by Ion Horatiu Crisan: "Continuity of the Romanian Nation in the Carpatho-Danube Area"]

[Text] It is only natural for any nation to be deeply aware of its past, to find out who its ancestors were and where and in what circumstances it came into being. The process of ethnogenesis, in most cases, is not easily deciphered, especially when we are dealing with remote time periods for which written sources are few or completely lacking. Such sources must be supplemented by archeological, numismatic, or other evidence, which must, however, be studied thoroughly and interpreted correctly.

It is primarily scholars stemming from the particular nationality who are called upon to decipher the process of ethnogenesis of a people. Others may also participate, provided they are thoroughly conversant with the documents and, especially, are animated by a desire to understand history and are not driven by other sentiments which are alien or hostile to scientific research. At all times this requires serious and extensive gathering of all sources--literary, epigraphic, archeological, numismatic, and so on--and the researcher must never deviate from the letter of the documents, from scientific rigor. The sole final aim of historical research is to find the truth.

The ethnogenesis of the Romanians came to be an object of study in the 18th century, when they demanded national and social rights on grounds of their antiquity and indigenusness to Transylvania. The Romanians have always been conscious of their unity, backed by their millenary existence in the region, their continuity, common civilization, and language, which inspired them in countless battles to win national and social justice. Unfortunately, there have been and there still are, even today, so-called historians abroad who, under the pretext of "scientific rigor" and "discarding sentimentality," deny evidence which they either do not understand or which they misinterpret for purposes other than scientific truth.

The Daco-Getae constituted the northern branch of the Thracians, who were part of the large Indo-European family. They occupied a vast territory

located between the Balkan Mountains, the North Carpathians, the Middle Danube, and the western shore of the Black Sea. Their definitive placement in this area is dated at the turn of the third to second millenia B.C. From that time to his, no one and nothing has been able to drive them or their descendants from their homeland.

The process of ethnic crystallization of the Daco-Getae took a long time, and its chronological stages can be pinpointed only with difficulty, because all we have at hand are archeological clues which cannot give us exact dates. What is certain is that by the end of the sixth century B.C. the process was long since completed, for we already find them mentioned as indigenous in written sources. I refer here to the well-known text of the father of history, Herodotus, who describes the Getae to us as being "the most valiant and honest of the Tracians."

The name Getae is used, in particular, by authors writing in Greek, and it is only natural that it should be the first mentioned in written sources. It was the Greeks who first came into contact with them and recorded them in their writings. Most authors writing in Latin, on the other hand, used the term Dacians. Numerous ancient literary documents provide abundant evidence of this. Pliny the Elder, for example (Natural History, IV, 80), in discussing the region of the mouth of the Danube, mentions "Getae, called Dacians by the Romans." In relating the story of Decebal and battles waged against the Romans, Dio Cassius states: "I call the people mentioned above Dacians, as they themselves and the Romans call them, though I know full well that some of the Greeks call them Getae" (Roman History, LXVII, 6, 2). Strabo, one of the most knowledgeable geographers and historians of antiquity, states flatly: "Dacians and Getae speak the same language" (Geography, VII, 3, 13).

In ancient times and in our own days, distinctions between ethnic groups have been made mostly on the basis of language--a fact which has long since been established practice and used by many Romanian and foreign scholars dealing with the problem, from the last century to our own days.

The sources we have mentioned--and we could add others--show clearly that both the name Getae and the name Dacians represent collective names used by the ancient authors to designate the same people speaking the same language. Only total ignorance of the sources and a lack of even an elementary acquaintance with these problems could lead to the claim that the Getae and the Dacians were two distinct peoples, that they "probably shared affinities of language" which did not prevent them from occupying each other's territory, that "the Geta Burebista ruled Dacian territory while Decebal ruled the Getae," thus "coming into contact," and that in this area social stratification was due to "the necessity of defense against invaders."

Such crass ignorance seems incredible, and all that remains of the alleged "rigor" is service to goals that have nothing in common with the truth or

any scientific objectivity "divested of sentimentalism." Such an absurdity, apparently, was necessary in order to argue that there was no political unity between the Getae and the Dacians and that Getan and Dacian society had not passed the final stage of the primitive commune, the "military democracy" of which F. Engels speaks. Burebista, it is claimed, achieved partial union of the tribes which lasted only 15 years ("Deceneu influenced the superstitious leaders with his religious magic"), and the Dacian leaders supported Decebal when he was attacked by the Romans.

The vast territory which Burebista ruled--from the Balkan Mountains to the North Carpathians, and from the Middle Danube to the western shore of the Black Sea, from Olbia (today Porutino, at the mouth of the Bug) to Apollonia (today Sozopol, in Bulgaria)--is a reality which literary, epigraphic, and archeological sources all concur in proving. No longer a mere hypothesis is the conclusion which of necessity arises: such a vast territory could not be governed by the old institutions of a tribal society, but only by means of a higher political organization, a state. The reign of Burebista--"the first and the greatest among the Thracian kings," as he is called in a contemporary document, which cannot be accused of partiality for the simple reason that it emanates from a Greek community (Dionysopolis, today Balçik), and is intended to honor not the king but Acornion, one of his courtiers--is called an empire by Strabo.

The death of the great King Burebista in 44 B.C. did not signal the disappearance of one of his major achievements, namely the state. It was required by the development of Daco-Getan society. Only his great empire, which lasted as long as its creator lived, was dismembered.

From Jordanes (a sixth-century writer) we learn that after Burebista's death the Dacian throne was assumed by Deceneu, a high priest and close collaborator of Burebista. He was succeeded by Prince Comosicus, himself a great priest and king, and after his death the throne was assumed by Coryllus, who we are told reigned 40 years. Diurpaneus reigned during the time of Domitian; he was to yield the throne to Decebal, the last Dacian king.

Recent research has shown that, in all probability, Jordanes did not leave us a complete list of the Dacian kings who occupied the throne after Burebista, but mentioned only the most important. The sources do mention other kings, but we cannot pinpoint exactly when they reigned. Archeological evidence has demonstrated complete continuity in the large complex of fortifications in the Orastie Mountains, from the time of Burebista to the beginning of the second century A.D. The same continuity is also confirmed in numerous "dave" [settlements] scattered over the entire Dacian area, where the abundance and extraordinary variety of the discovered materials prove the high level attained by Dacian civilization, both material and intellectual.

Much better known is the period between the reigns of emperors Domitian and Trajan, when wars aiming at the conquest of part of the North Danube area of Dacia occurred. Here the literary sources provide many details.

This is why it is wrong to speak of "brief and unstable unions of Getan and Dacian tribes," as has been claimed. The October 1977 Plenum of the CC RCP decided to hold a fitting celebration, in 1980, of 2,050 years since the creation of the centralized and independent Dacian state, led by Burebista, a moment of great importance in the millenary history of our nation. No one has claimed that we can speak of celebrating 2,050 years since the creation of a Romanian centralized state. Yet we still find "historians" who claim that "we lack evidence of the Geto-Dacian origins of the Romanian people." According to them, 160 Dacian words are not sufficient; by analogy, the 250 words of Turkic origin that came into the Hungarian language before the Magyars became established in Central Europe does not mean we can claim that the latter are of Turkish origin. Such historians forget that in addition to the 160 Dacian words retained in Romanian we have innumerable other incontrovertible proofs of our uninterrupted millenary continuity in the area we occupy today.

By the beginning of the first century A.D. through successive conquests in the Balkan Peninsula, Rome's boundaries were extended to the Danube, thus encompassing a good part of Dacia--that between the Balkan Mountains and Istru. Other areas of Dacia north of the river were occupied later. Thus, Emperor Trajan, reorganizing the empire's defenses on the Lower Danube, annexed part of the territories conquered north of the Danube to the province of Lower Moesia: eastern Oltenia, the southwest corner of Transylvania, south Moldavia as far as Tyras, and all of Wallachia. This is what vanquished heroic King Decebal and established north of the Danube a new Roman province, which took the name of the country's native population and was called Dacia. It comprised Transylvania (with the exception of the southwestern part), Banat, and half of western Oltenia.

The new Roman province, of consular rank, constituted a propugnaculum, an advanced forum in the "barbarian" world, defended by a powerful army numbering more than 40,000 soldiers belonging to two or three legions, and also more than 80 auxiliary units.

After two terrible wars, the territory conquered with so much sacrifice north of the Danube was subjected to various administrative reorganizations. One was undertaken by the Emperor Hadrian between 118 and 119 A.D. while reorganizing the empire's Danube border defenses. Trajan Dacia was divided into two provinces for purposes of better protection, and parts of south Moldavia and Cimpia Romania [Romanian Lowland] were abandoned.

Camps such as Barbosi, Orlovka, and Tyras were maintained north of the Lower Danube on the left bank; but we cannot precisely pinpoint the extent of Roman rule beyond these, or how much of the neighboring territory was under the effective control of Roman troops. As for Wallachia, recent

researchers have ventured the hypothesis that events dated at the end of Trajan's reign and the first part of the reign of his successor, Hadrian, resulted in the destruction and abandonment of camps at Rucar, Tirgisor, Upper Draja, Malaesti, and perhaps Jidova, and then began the establishment of a *limes transalutani* [Transalutani Boundary] which attached a broad zone of 10 to 50 km east of Olt to the newly constituted Lower Dacia.

From the very beginning, many colonists were brought in along with troops, and mass colonization was organized with elements coming from all over the Roman world, according to Eutropius (VIII, 6, 2). A vigorous urban life developed (nine cities were ranked as *colonia*, and three were ranked as *municipium*; five were designated *ius italicum*) along with numerous rural settlements (more than 400 such settlements are known today). Bustling Roman life, manifested in all aspects of material and intellectual existence, pulsed there. Evidence of the profound Romanization of Trajan Dacia is provided, among other things, by the more than 3,000 inscriptions so far discovered--more than in both Moesias. Zonaras states clearly that "after the conquest of Dacia, the Dacian people and their province became Roman" (Annals, XI, 21).

Abundant evidence confirms that, far from being exterminated, the Dacians continued to live alongside the Roman colonists in the North Danube Roman province, feeling the full effects of Romanization. Throughout the second and third centuries A.D. 9 to 11 units were recruited among the Dacians for the Roman army. That there can be no question of any "extermination" of the Dacians during two wars (101-102 and 105-106) is attested by the fact that troops were recruited among the Dacians as early as the time of Emperor Trajan, a fact that is evidenced eloquently by the names of the units. They included *Ala I Ulpia Dacorum*, which went to Cappadocia, and *Cohors I Ulpia Dacorum*, which ranged as far as Syria, mentioned in a document from the year 106. Other military units recruited among the Dacians during the reigns of subsequent emperors went to reinforce the British *limes* or the defenses of Pannonia and Moesia. Well known is the role played by the army in the Romanization process throughout the territories ruled by the Romans.

Proof of this continuity is provided by the names of numerous Roman localities which are undoubtedly Dacian: Apulum, Arcidava, Berzobis, Cumidava, Drobeta, Napoca, Porolissum, Potaissa, Sucidava, and others. Also Dacian are the names of the principal rivers: Dunaris, Alutus, Crisius, Marisus, Samus, Tibiscus, and others.

To the above-mentioned evidence we should add archeological evidence which has been discovered in abundance, especially in the last three decades, and which is growing every day. Today we know of more than 26 localities within the former Trajan Dacia where typical, specifically Dacian, pottery has been discovered in association with Roman materials. It has been found in cemeteries, camps, and rural villages.

The presence of a Dacian population can be traced archeologically, especially in rural areas. Many of the villages of the Roman era were founded before the Daco-Roman wars, for example those discovered at Slimnic, Lower Cernatul, Lechnita de Mures, Ciunga, and Cipau. Others, in which the presence of an indigenous population has not been well proven, came into being after the Roman conquest, including, for example, those in Obreja, Ocna Sibiului, Locusteni, and others. Some of these continued to exist after 271 A.D.

Evidence in favor of the presence of a Dacian population and its integration in Roman life is provided by work tools (for example, specifically Dacian plowshares), ornaments, and, especially, types of tombs and funeral rites. Along with isolated graves, we find today large exposed necropolises in the form of excavations numbering hundreds of tombs, for example, at Soporul de Cimpie, Obreja, and Locusteni. All these present clear evidence that a Dacian population lived alongside the Roman colonists.

Coin treasures tell us the same thing. Of the more than 120 treasures known today, 40 were started during the independence period of the Geto-Dacian state and continued during the Roman era.

All of this indicates that the Dacians, after being incorporated into Rome, continued their life under the new conditions and were subjected to a broad and rich process of Romanization, which was finalized in the Daco-Roman synthesis.

The intensive Roman life in the North Danube province was to last 165 years, until the time of Emperor Aurelian; in the year 271 the Roman army and administration were withdrawn south of the Danube, where two more provinces named Dacia were formed: Dacia Ripensis (between the Danube and the Balkans) and Dacia Mediterranea (southwest of the other). The two new provinces were to continue to bear the name Dacia, not only in memory of the one north of the river but also, especially, because the basic ethnic element of the latter was Dacian.

In the second half of the third century, the Danubian boundaries of the Roman Empire came under increasingly severe attack, especially by the Goths in association with other tribes. Emperor Aurelian reported victories over them in 271 and 272. The abandonment of the territory of former Trajan Dacia was made as part of a strategic and far-reaching plan designed to streamline the defenses of the empire's frontiers, which were to be drawn back to the Danube, rather than because of imminent barbarian attacks on Dacia. Clear proof is provided by the fact that after 271 the Goths did not penetrate the territory of former Trajan Dacia.

The circumstances alluded to made it possible to maintain strong Roman garrisons north of the river, such as those at Sucidava (Celei), Desa (Dolj County), Drobeta, Pojejena, Gornea, Dierna (Banat), Hinova

(Mehedinti County), and Bistret (Dolj County). It is impossible to tell exactly how much of the North Danube territory remained under the control of these troops. The fact is that the year 271 is not as important as has been claimed, in the sense that it represents only a particular moment in history, because the frontiers of the Roman Empire and, later, the Roman-Byzantine Empire, continued to be changed in succeeding centuries, taking in larger or smaller territories north of the Danube. Emperors such as Constantius Chlorus boasted of reestablishing Dacia (Dacia Restituta). Diocletian (284-305) built new fortifications north of the Danube.

Constantine the Great in 324 inaugurated an active policy on the Lower Danube. This resulted in the reconquest of extensive territories north of the Danube, which were reincorporated into the empire. A new stone bridge was built to connect Sucidava with Oescus (Ghigen, Bulgaria). The road was rebuilt between Sucidava and Romula. Fortifications were built, and old ones rebuilt, at Dierna, Drobeta, and elsewhere. The Oltenia and Wallachian lowlands were reincorporated into the empire, and the well-known val [sic.] was built under the name of Brazda lui Novac. Territories north of this line as far as the Carpathians were brought in under Roman arms. Proof of this is provided by the construction of a fortification at Putinei, north of Drobeta-Turnu Severin and Brazda lui Novac, in the fourth century. Evidence of the reincorporation of Oltenia and Wallachia into the Roman Empire in the fourth century is provided also by numerous Roman coins of the time discovered in the territories between the Danube and the Carpathians. Recently, a camp of impressive dimensions, including baths, was discovered at Pietroasele (Buzau County). The baths' structures were found to contain bricks bearing the stamp of Claudia 11th Legion, which had a training camp at Durostorum and Transmarisca, south of the Danube, in the fourth century. The discoveries of Pietroasele must be added to those already mentioned.

Constantine the Great battled Germanic tribes in Banat and crushed them. The discovery of more than 50 coin hoards of the fourth century in Banat--some of which include up to 5,000 pieces, along with large amounts of coins of the same period found in more than 52 Roman sites--prove that this area was also reincorporated into the empire at the time of Constantine. Among sites where fourth-century coins have been discovered are Dierna and Tibiscum, which were well known in the Trajan era. At Tibiscum (Jupa), recent excavations have revealed intensive habitation in the fourth century. Then fortifications were strengthened at Pojejena, Cuvin, Gornea, and Svinita, which have been investigated recently, along with those at Dierna. At the same time, old fortifications appear to have been rebuilt at Mehadia, Teregoava, and Tibiscum. With full justification, Constantine the Great took the title Dacicus, and some literary sources speak of restoring the whole of Trajan Dacia to the empire. Even if there is no question of the whole of Dacia, we can nevertheless say that Constantine was to reincorporate into the empire a large part of Dacia and other territories which Trajan included in Moesia. Ties between the territories reannexed in the time of Constantine and those of Trajan Dacia are also evidenced by coin

hoards like those discovered in Banat and Oltenia (at Laslea, Pasul Vulcan, and, recently, Gherla).

After the reign of Constantine the Great, in the time of his successors, numerous barbarian attacks and crises are recorded, chiefly at the hands of the Huns. The defenses of the Lower Danube were rebuilt after the Huns departed, as can be determined archeologically at Sucidava. It is difficult to determine exactly how much of the North Danube territory was included after that in the Byzantine Empire. Procopius says that Justinian extended Byzantine rule deep into Dacian territory (*De bello Got.*, III). Then large fortifications were built or rebuilt, for example at Lederata (Palanca Noua, in Banat), Dierna, Drobeta, Turnul Magurele, and Sucidava. Extensive excavations at Sucidava show that life flourished until the time of Emperor Mauricius Tiberius (582-602). At the end of his reign, the Danube limes fell, under the pressure of Avar-Slav attacks.

Archeological research, especially of recent time, shows abundantly that a Daco-Roman population also lived continuously in North Danube areas enclosed within the Roman frontiers after the year 271. Life continued in former Roman cities until the fifth century as well. For example, the amphitheater at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, the former capital, was transformed into a veritable fortress. Large structures in the forum of this city were made into compartments and inhabited. The Apulum baths were converted into a cemetery for the Daco-Roman population in the fourth century. Numerous Roman artifacts, including some ancient Christian ones, especially coins from various periods between the emperors Aurelian and Valens, prove the continuity of life in the large city of Apulum. Similar relics prove the same continuity in other cities, such as Potaissa, Napoca, and Porolissum. Bustling life pulsed in the village, to judge by discoveries at Obreja, Sebes, Archiud, Mugeni, Sic, Moresti, and many other sites. At the end of the third century, settlements came into being that lasted up through the fourth and fifth centuries, for example, at Cluj-Manastur, Iernut, Noslac, Bratei, Soporul de Cimpie, Taga, and Greoni, to name just a few. Habitation even continued in the settlements of various camps, even though military forces had been withdrawn. Such vestiges were discovered at Comalau, Vetel, Gherla, Sighisoara, Sarateni, Ilisua, Hoghiz, Cincsor, Olteni and Gilau.

Other evidence is provided by burials from the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth, such as at Iernut, Rahau, Lechinta de Mures, Soporul de Cimpie, and Tirnavioara. In addition, we know today of a large, systematically excavated necropolis at Bratei, with about 400 graves, dating from the beginning of the fourth century and lasting until the end of that century. Clear evidence has been found of a continuous Roman population throughout the fourth century. A Roman settlement of the fifth and sixth centuries has been discovered at the same site.

Evidence in favor of Daco-Roman continuity is provided by numerous coin finds in more than 160 localities, along with ancient Christian artifacts.

The same Daco-Roman population is present in the sixth century, for example, in the settlements of Moresti, Cipau, Bratei, Porumbeni Mici, and elsewhere.

These, then, constitute clear and specific proof of the continuity of the Daco-Roman population on the territory of the former province between the year 271 and the sixth century.

Every time the Roman frontiers were drawn back from the North Danube area, the latter was reincorporated into the Daco-Getan world, which proved to be unitary throughout its history. After the departure of the Roman authorities, at the time of Aurelian, free Dacians from the east Carpi and the west entered the territory of the former province. Evidence in favor of this is provided by discoveries such as those at Reci, Bezid, Christian, Meresti, Sebes, Medias, and Archiud, for the Carpi, and Cipau, for the western Dacians.

Dacia's abandonment by the Romans did not take place at the time of Aurelian --which, as we mentioned earlier, was nothing more than a historical incident--but at the beginning of the seventh century, when the Danube Limes fell and the Roman-Byzantine authorities withdrew south of the Balkans. Now came a crucial moment, when the unity of the Daco-Getan world was restored, only this time on a different linguistic basis--Latin. A large part of the Daco-Getan world north and south of the Danube had been Romanized in the course of seven centuries. The Romanization process was not confined to the 165 years the North Danube province lasted, or to that area.

The triumph of the Latin language was to a large extent aided by Christianity, which was preached in that language. Proof of this is seen in the words that refer to basic concepts (Christian, pagan, cross, saint, God, church, and so on) which are preserved in Romanian.

Recent linguistic research supports the foregoing, in that the beginning of the formation of the Romanian language as distinct from the Latin spoken earlier is dated after the beginning of the seventh century; this corresponds to the restoration of the unity of the Daco-Getan world, and it took place all over the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area. After the massive invasion of the Slavs, as a direct consequence of the abandonment of Dacia by the Roman-Byzantine authorities, the Daco-Romans of most of the South Danube area became Slavized. The Slavs who remained north of the river, on the other hand, were incorporated into the Daco-Romans.

The retreat of the Daco-Romans before the floods of invaders had to be of short duration and carried out in the well-known perimeter of the settlements. The decline of the Roman Empire and the withdrawal of the Roman administration from Dacia left behind a disorganized state, a fact which was manifested by the resistance of the natives to the invasions of the migratory peoples. The new nation created by the merger of the Dacians and the Romans--the Romanian nation--has had to fight constantly and fiercely to preserve itself, to assure its continuity, throughout the centuries, on the territory where it came into being and developed.

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

DEATH OF ACADEMICIAN--The Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania announces the death, on 18 June 1978, of Professor Iulian Gavut, corresponding member of the Academy, outstanding personality in the field of geology, petroleum, and applied physics in Romania. [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28 Jun 78 p 4]

DEATH OF MEDICAL SCIENCES SPECIALIST--The Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania announces the death, on 30 May 1978, of Academician Constantin C. Iliescu, an outstanding personality in the field of medical higher education and contemporary Romanian medical science. [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 2 Jun 78 p 4]

DEATH OF FORMER MINISTER--The Ministry of Education and Instruction and the Union of Trade Unions in Education, Science, and Culture reports the death, on 7 June 1978, of Comrade Ion Nistor who, for many years, was minister of education and chairman of the Committee of Trade Unions in Education. [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA 10 Jun 78 p 4]

RETIREMENT OF MILITARY MEDICAL OFFICER--On 7 June 1977 there was a meeting in the Central Military Hospital on the occasion of the retirement from active duty of Major General Medical Doctor Gh. Costachescu, the head of the health institution. The following participated in the meeting: Major General Medical Doctor Alexandru Gr. Popescu--chief of the Medical Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense; Colonel Theodor T. Popp--secretary of the Political Council; and Colonel Medical Doctor Florian Vlad--the new head of the hospital as well as doctors and pharmacists from the Medical Directorate and the Central Military Hospital. [Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 77 pp 475-476]

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

JUNE 15 MEETING OF MACEDONIAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORTED

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 16 Jun 78 pp 1, 3

[Report: "Implementation of Plan Targets and Tasks Confirmed"]

[Text] At yesterday's meeting, chaired by Blagoj Popov, the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia considered and accepted the report on the level reached in the organization and readiness for the further development of territorial defense in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, stating that the planned levels of organization and equipment of the territorial defense had been reached. The meeting was attended by Lieutenant Colonel General Boro Chaushev, chief of the republic's territorial defense staff, and Major General Todor Atanasovski, chief of staff.

The Executive Council approved the plan of the resolution on the development and advancement of physical culture in Macedonia, aimed at promoting all factors in the field of physical culture and insure their involvement in the development of physical culture and its further advancement.

Positive Development Results

Development progress and results achieved in the first five months of this year confirmed the implementation of the objectives and tasks included in the resolution on the implementation of the social plan of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. This is a significant foundation for the expected successful implementation of this year's program targets and assignments, the Executive Council noted.

In the first five months of the year industrial output rose 8.7 percent. The further increases in material output were achieved mostly in industries of particular importance to overall development and, particularly, through the production and processing of non-ferrous metals, base chemicals, the processing of chemical products, and others. The physical volume of services and construction work has been increased as well.

Compared with the same period of 1977 exports rose 21 percent and the level of foreign trade is meeting the planned dynamics of growth of the balance of payments and foreign exchange of the Yugoslav republics. Greater exports were achieved in the fields of non-ferrous and ferrous metallurgy, the textile, leather, and shoe industries, and others.

Living standards, earnings, individual consumption, construction, and non-economic activities were enhanced.

In the first four months of the year the overall income rose over 25 percent while the number of people employed in the public sector reached 370,000, or 4.4 percent higher than during the same period of last year.

Increasing Obligations

The conclusions adopted by the Executive Council particularly note the need for further increases in production and services and for the maximum mobilization of all socioeconomic factors for the implementation of the accepted policy and objectives and tasks. This takes into consideration the negative trends in economic development: Increased indebtedness, increased stock-piles of goods which freeze considerable funds, increased losses and worsened cash positions of some joint labor organizations, and increased indebtedness based on called bills of exchange, checks, and guarantees, indebtedness to the budget, and others.

The Executive Council pointed out that the conditions and problems related to negative financial results and, particularly, the enumerated losses, must be reviewed and eliminated.

The Executive Council considered and adopted the stipulation of "Utilization of Output and Service Capacities in the Economy of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia," formulated by the Social Planning Institute, stipulating that it represents a solid foundation for the review of conditions and problems in this area. The council concluded that further efforts must be concentrated on the better utilization of capacities and on insuring a better production rhythm in the course of the year. The council stipulated that great potential opportunities exist in this direction for reaching better production results. The council called for the faster elimination of bottlenecks in production hindering the synchronization of the technological process and for achieving a higher level of mobility of the joint labor organizations in reaching their production and service potential.

Draft Railroad Law Approved

At the same session the Executive Council approved the draft law on railroads settling the organization of transportation and conditions for railroad communication, obligations, and foundations of self-governing cooperatives; technical elements and conditions for the building and reconstruction of railroad tracks and other railroad projects, as well as measures related to railroad safety and order within the structure of the Yugoslav railroad system.

The council also approved the Proposal for a public contract for the rationalization of housing construction and the development of air transportation in the republic. It called for the undertaking of a comprehensive study of the development of air transportation in Macedonia to the year 2,000.

The council considered and accepted the report on the implementation of the 1977 action program for improving the sanitary-hygienic epidemiological condition in the republic.

The Executive Council considered other questions as well on which it issued its suggestions, conclusions, or views.

5003

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BIOGRAPHIES OF NEW MEMBERS OF SFRY ASSEMBLY

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 May 78 p 4

[Text] President of the Assembly of SFRY

Dragoslav Markovic

Born in 1920 in Popovic, Opstina Sobot, Socialist Republic of Serbia. Became member of SKOJ [League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia] as intermediate school student in 1938 and member of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] in 1939. Awarded "Partisan citation 1941."

As a medical student in Belgrade he was active in the progressive student movement and in the leadership of student organizations. Immediately following the German occupation of Yugoslavia he participated in preparations for armed struggle against the invader. As member of the CPY kotar committee of the Kosmaj kotar he became political commissar of the company upon the formation of Kosmaj partisan regiment (on July 1941). From 1942 on he was secretary of the regional CPY committee for the Belgrade region and secretary of the Regional National Liberation Committee.

Following liberation he was, among other things, superintendent of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Serbia [CPS], minister of construction and mining in the government of the People's Republic of Serbia, secretary of the Belgrade Regional and City Committee of the CPS, director of Radio-Beograd station, member of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and so on. He was ambassador of the SFRY in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, president of the Republic Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, deputy for several terms. He was member of the Central Committee of CPS from 1945 to 1965 and has been a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee since 1974.

He participated in the drafting of the new Constitution of SR of Serbia and was very active in the subsequent constitutional transformation of society as a whole. No less notable was his important role in the ideological and practical struggle against liberalism, nationalism, and technocracy in Serbia.

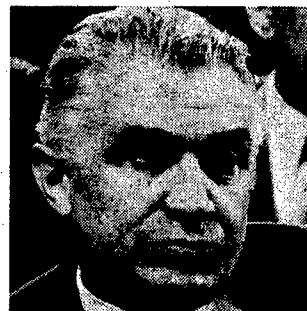
Prior to his election as president of the SFRY Assembly he was president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia.

He is recipient of numerous awards and decorations such as Orden za hrabrost [Order of Valor], Orden partizanske zvijezde [Order of Partisan Star] with silver clusters, Orden bratstva i jedinstva [Order of Brotherhood and Unity] with gold clusters, Orden rada [Order of Labor] with red flag, Orden zaslug za narod [Order of Merit for the People] with gold star, Orden narodnog oslobodjenja [Order of National Liberation], and Orden republike [Order of the Republic] with gold clusters.

President of the Federal Council

Dobroslav Culafic

Born in 1926 in Andrijevac--Ivanograd, Socialist Republic of Montenegro. He was graduated from the Faculty of Laws in Belgrade and Higher Party School Djuro Djakovic. He participated in the National Liberation Struggle starting in 1943.



He served as president of the Central Committee of the Montenegro Youth League, secretary of the Ivanograd opstina committee of the League of Communists, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro, president of the Republic Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, vice president of the Federal Executive Council. From 1971 to 1974 he was member of the Presidency of the SFRY.

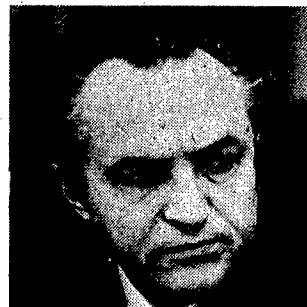
He was elected member of the Central Committee or Presidency of the Central Committee of LCY at the 8th, 9th and 10th congress of the LCY. At the 3rd, 4th, and 5th congresses of the LC of Montenegro he was elected member of the Central Committee and Executive Committee of the LC of Montenegro.

He is member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LCY. His most recent position was that of vice president of the Federal Executive Council.

President of the Council of Republics and Regions

Zoran Polic

Born on 20 October 1912 in Lenart near Maribor. He completed the intermediate school in Maribor and was graduated from the Faculty of Laws at the University in Ljubljana in 1937.



In April 1941 he participated in the formation of the Liberation Front [LF] of Slovenia and became

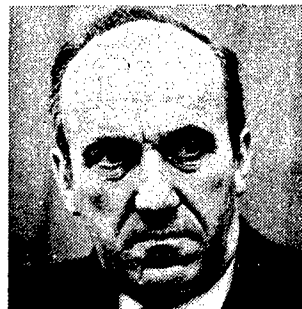
member of the Ljubljana City Committee of LF. In the War of National Liberation he was member of the Executive Committee of Slovenia and member of the Central Staff of People's Liberation Army of Slovenia. He was elected deputy to AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], attended the second meeting of AVNOJ in Jajce and the Constitutional Assembly of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia.

As member of the first government of People's Republic of Slovenia he served first as minister of internal affairs and, later, minister of finance. From 1953 to 1956 he was member of the Executive Council and federal secretary for budget and general services administration. In 1974 he was elected president of the Council of Republics and Regions of the Assembly of the SFRY. He was member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovenia, vice president of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia, vice president of the League of Veterans of the War of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, president of the Olympics committee, vice president of SOFK of Yugoslavia, and so on. He was awarded "Partisan citation 1941" and several high decorations.

Vice President of the Assembly of the SFRY

Rudi Kolak

Born in 1918 in Gornji Ribnik, opstina Kljuc, Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina. He was graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University of Belgrade.



He became member of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia in 1936 and member of the CPY (LCY) in 1940. Participated in the national liberation struggle starting in 1941. In 1940 he served as secretary of the Banja Luka District Committee of the LCYY. Because of his revolutionary activity he was convicted by the court for the protection of the state.

After the liberation he was member of the government of Bosnia and Hercegovina and president of the Executive Council of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

From 1940 to 1952 and from 1963 to 1966 he was member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bosnia and Hercegovina and member of the Politburo. At the Seventh Congress he was elected member of the Central Committee of the LCY and at the 5th plenary session member of the Presidium of the LCY.

From 1967 to 1969 he served as vice-president of the Federal Executive Council and from 1969 to 1974 as president of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia. His most recently held office was that of the president of the Assembly of the SFRY.

He has been awarded "Partisan citation 1941," Orden junaka socialistickog rada [Order of the Hero of Socialist Labor], Orden za hrabrost [Order of Valor], Orden bratstva i jedinstva [Order of Brotherhood and Unity] first class, Orden zaslugu za narod [Order of Merit for the People] first class, Orden rada [Order of Labor] first class, Orden republike [Order of the Republic] first class.

Ivan Kukoc

Born on 9 March 1918 in Split, Socialist Republic of Croatia. Colonel-general of the Yugoslav People's Army. Before the war he worked as a graphics machinist in Split. He became member of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia in 1933 and member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1935.



He participated in the War of National Liberation since 1941. From May 1942 he served as secretary of the Regional Committee of the LCYY for Dalmatia and member of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia for Dalmatia. In August of the same year he became political commissar of the fourth zone of operations. Since March 1943 he served as commissar of the Ninth Division and since October as political commissar of the Eight Corps [partisan army corps].

After the war he occupied various leading positions in the government and the party in Split, Zagreb, and Belgrade. Among other things he served as secretary of the first government of the People's Republic of Croatia, assistant to the federal minister of labor, member of Agitprop of the Central Committee of the LCY. Subsequent to this he again assumed responsible assignments in the Yugoslav People's Army and served, among other things, as director of the Federal People's Defense Council and assistant to the federal secretary for people's defense.

Since the 10th Congress of the LCY he has been member of the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY.

He has been awarded "Partisan citation 1941." He holds the following decorations: Orden narodnog oslobođenja ratne zastave [Order of People's Liberation of Wartime Flag], Orden jugoslovenske zastave [Order of the Yugoslav Flag] with sash, Orden zaslugu za narod [Order of Merit for the People] with gold star.

Kiro Hadzivasilev

Born in 1921 in Kavadarci, Socialist Republic of Macedonia. In 1951 he completed his studies at the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade.

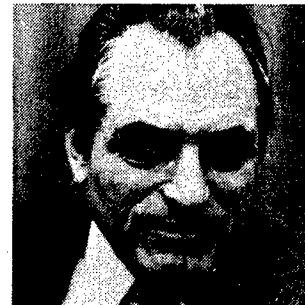
He participated in the War of National Liberation beginning in 1941. Member of the CPY since 1943. He was member of Agitprop of his brigade, division, and General Staff of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Groups of Yugoslavia for Macedonia.



After the war he served in the following capacities: Director of Nova Makedonija [New Macedonia], Minister of Education of the People's Republic of Macedonia, then principal editor of the paper SAVREMENOST, editor of SOCIJALIZAM, division chief in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, counsellor at the embassy of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Ankara and consul general in Istanbul. Between 1963 and 1967 he was director of the Higher School of Political Science in Belgrade. Since the Eighth Congress of the LCY he has been member of the Central Committee of the LCY. Between 1966 and 1969 he was member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the LCY.

Sinan Hasani

Born in 1922 in Pozaraj at Kosovska Vitina. Completed Higher Political School Djuro Djakovic. Participated in the War of National Liberation starting in 1941. In wartime he served as commissar of the company and member of the Kotar Committee of the Communist Party. He has been member of the CPY since 1942.



After the war he served as secretary of the Kotar Committee of the Communist Party in Vitina and Gnjilan, president of the Ideological Commission, and president of the Socialist League AKMO. From 1965 to 1967 he was director of NIP Rilindja. He was member of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People Commission of the Federal Executive Council for UNESCO. Since 1967 he was vice president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. From 1971 to 1974 ambassador to Denmark. From 1974 to 1978 he was vice president of the Assembly of the SFRY. At the 4th, 5th, and 6th congresses he was elected member of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia.

He is interested in literature and is the author of several novels.

Sreta Kovacevic

Born on 7 February 1920 in Golubnici, opstina Stara Pazova. Before the war he completed the intermediate school and began studies at the medical school of the university in Belgrade. He was graduated from the University School of Sociopolitical Science in Belgrade.



As participant in the national liberation struggle since 1941 he was awarded "Partisan citation 1941." Member of the LCY since 1941.

He served as secretary of the Regional Committee of the Vojvodina League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia, member of the Central Committee Bureau of the LCYY for Serbia, secretary of the Country Committee of SUBNOR of Serbia, secretary of the LCS Kotar Committee in Stara Pazova and Sremska Mitrovica, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Region of Vojvodina, president of the SAR of Vojvodina, and, since May 1974, member of the Presidency of SAR of Vojvodina. He is member of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia.

Secretary General of the Assembly of the SFRY

Janez Lukac

Born on 9 September 1931 in Sava near Litija, Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Became member of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia at the early age of 14 and member of the CPY at age 17.



Since 1948 he has served in various capacities in the internal affairs authorities. As law school graduate he was elected judge of the Kotar Court and later, judge of the District Court in Ljubljana. Since September 1963 he was secretary of the Council of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia and since 1969, assistant of the secretary-general of the Federal Assembly. Prior to his election as secretary-general he served as deputy secretary-general of the Assembly of the SFRY. He is president of the organizing committee of the Second Conference on European Cooperation and Security.

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